THE COMMUNIST PARTY

•

A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION

BY

J. PETERS

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PREFACE

THIS organizational Manual fills a long-felt need. It will be welcomed by many thousands of active Party members who have looked forward to its publication for a long time. Much of the material used by Comrade Peters as the basis for this Manual was, it is true, available, but it is scattered in many documents over a period of years. Much of the material was of late available, as for example, the famous and thorough going resolutions and decisions on the question of organization adopted by the Second Organizational Conference of the Communist International, which was printed in the *Inprecorr* some ten years ago (*International Press Correspondence*, Vol. 6, No. 38).

Comrade Peters has added much to the existing material both from more recent international experience and especially from the recent experience of our own Party, experience that is very rich and valuable. The Manual embodies, therefore, the best that is available in the theory and practice of organization in our own Party and the Communist International. Comrade Peters not only is thoroughly acquainted with the fundamental principles of Leninist organization but has had a wide and varied experience in organizational work over a period of many years. It is this combination of theory and practice permeating the Manual that makes it so valuable to our Party. I am sure that when this Manual becomes popularized in the Party we will wonder how we could have gotten along without such a weapon for so long.

Aside from the fact that Manual will be of great benefit to every member of our Party in the daily work, it will, in the first place, provide the necessary material for the training of our cadres, and help in the solution of many problems with which our func-

tionaries are faced. With 500 shop nuclei, 2,000 street nuclei, more than 250 sections, some 30 districts, and hundreds upon hundreds of fractions in the trade unions and other mass organizations, there are many thousands of functionaries who will find the Manual indispensible. It will be of incalculable value especially to the functionaries in the lower organizations, the organizers, secretaries, agitprop directors, literature agents, etc., the bureau members of the shop and street nuclei, the Section Committees, upon whom falls the main burden for the execution of the line of the Party in the mass work, the character of which determines the progress of the Party in the solution of its main tasks.

If we remember that, as a result of the recent growth of the Party, the majority of the Party membership is relatively new (less than two years in the Party), then more emphasis is added to the value of the Manual. The growth of the Party membership and its increasing activity has not only multiplied our organizational problems but of necessity require that many new comrades with little organizational experience assume leading positions in the lower Party organizations and in the fractions. While we have made some efforts through the *Party Organizer* and the "Party Life" column in the *Daily Worker*, through conferences, etc., to impart to them our knowledge and experience, this has not been done systematically. Hence, many mistakes are made all over again by the new functionaries, mistakes in the solution of problems which in some sections of the Party have already been solved. Now, with this Manual at hand, the entire Party will have available in an organized form the best experience that we have.

That the improvement in our organizational work is very pressing was forcefully brought out at the May, 1935, meeting of the Central Committee of the

Party where the organizational status and the organizational work of the Party were examined very thoroughly. One of the things that was disclosed is the lack of stabilization of the lower cadres. This is mainly due to the fact that comrades are assigned to tasks for which they are not fully prepared; they are not given help, they are allowed to drift, with the result that soon it is found that their work is not satisfactory and changes are made. But the new functionaries who replace them go through the very same experiences. The result is constant change. The examination, however, brought out the fact that in those units and sections where we succeed somewhat in stabilizing the cadres the work is much better than in those where there is constant change. If the Manual will but aid in the solution of this one burning question it will more than justify its publication.

The examination of the work of the Party disclosed that, in practice, there is still an insufficient orientation in conducting our work along the lines laid down in the *Open Letter* (adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference, July, 1933), that is, from the viewpoint of concentration in the main factories, industries, trade unions, the placing of the center of gravity of our work in the lower organizations.

This, of course, involves in the first place the concentration of our efforts towards the building of the Party in the factories, the creation of shop nuclei and the development of the shop nuclei into real mass Party organizations in the factories, carrying out all the tasks of the Party, leading the struggles of the masses in these factories—the struggles on all issues, economic and political.

The Manual takes up this question in great detail. It explains why we Communists are the only political Party that builds its basic organization in the fac-

tories. It takes up the questions of the construction of the shop nuclei, their methods of work under varying conditions, the relation of the shop nuclei to the sections, to the trade union fractions, etc. I am convinced that this Manual in the hands of our comrades in the shop nuclei will aid in the improvement of the work of the shop nuclei, as well as in the more rapid and systematic building of shop nuclei where they do not as yet exist.

Another central question dealt with at the May meeting of the Central Committee was the work of the trade union fractions. With the strengthened position of our Party in the A. F. of L. unions the improvement of the work of the trade union fractions has become of increasing importance. The Manual deals with these important questions; the role of the fractions, how they are to be built, their work, their relation to the Party organizations, etc.

The question of increasing the recruiting power of the Party, the methods of recruiting, the overcoming of the high fluctuation of members, all these problems that are so closely connected with the work of the lower organizations, the questions of methods of dues collections, initiation of new members, the education of the new members, etc., are taken up and treated in great detail.

It is unnecessary in this introduction to mention all the important questions treated in the Manual. This can be seen from a glance at the index. Suffice it to say that it deals with all the vital questions of Party organization. Let us mention just two more types of questions dealt with. First, the opening sections which explain in a very elementary and detailed manner the Party itself. What is the Communist Party; what is its role in relation to the other organizations of the workers; what is its fundamental policy; what are the main tactics of the Party, etc. It is a fact that many of our Party members have

not as yet become fully acquainted with many of these questions. The second type of questions dealt with that should be mentioned we are sure will be most welcome to the comrades charged with the various duties in the shop and street nuclei: What is the task of the various functionaries? How often have we faced the question that a comrade is assigned a post, let us say unit organizer, agitprop director of the unit, *Daily Worker* agent of the unit; and the comrade receives no records of the comrades who preceded him in the post, no guidance as to his or her tasks? Finally, I wish to call attention to the section dealing with the structure of the Party from top to bottom, illustrated by a number of charts, which will give the comrades an appreciation of the whole of the machinery of the Party, their relation to it, the understanding of their special task in relation to the whole Party.

Naturally, the Manual will not by itself solve our problems. Nor will it bring the best results if it will be conceived of as a blue print to be applied mechanically. It will be most effective if it is properly understood as *a guide* to the daily practical problems. In this respect it is necessary not only that we ensure every Party member securing a copy of the Manual and reading it—and especially every comrade holding a post of responsibility from the units up—we must organize the collective study of the Manual in the units, among the various functionaries in the units, sections and districts.

JACK STACHEL

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
A MANUAL ON ORGANIZATION

I. Fundamentals of the Party Program

THE Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the working class, composed of the most class-conscious, the most courageous, the most self-sacrificing section of the proletariat. The Communist Party does not stand above, but is part and parcel of, the working class. It is the general staff of the proletariat.

The Communist Party is armed with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. These teachings are a powerful weapon in the hands of the Communist Party. They enable the Party to direct the struggles of the working class along the correct line, and to gain victories while avoiding unnecessary sacrifice. These teachings enable the Party to know which forces are acting in the interests of the working class and which against it. By means of these teachings the Communist Party is able to find the best methods of struggle of the working class against capitalism, and for socialism.

THE ROLE AND AIM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States, for

the complete abolition of classes, for the establishment of socialism, the first stage of the classless Communist society.

Our Party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

What are the conditions? Comrade Lenin, in his pamphlet, *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder,* answers this question.

> ". . . for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, . . . weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." (Little Lenin Library, Vol. 20, p. 65.)

These two conditions alone are not sufficient for the successful struggle of the working class. Even if the masses know that socialism liberates the working class, even if the masses know that socialism can be won only through revolution, unless there is a strongly organized Communist Party which explains the aims and methods of the struggle to the workers, unless it itself organizes these struggles, and is itself in the forefront of them, the revolution cannot be victorious. Lenin wrote about the need for a strong Communist Party as the advance guard of the working class in the following words:

> "In order that the mass of a definite class may learn how to understand its own interests, its situation, may learn how to carry on its own policy, precisely for this an organization of the advanced elements of the class is immediately

necessary at any cost though at the beginning these elements may form a negligible section of the class."

How will the Communist Party convince the majority of the working class that a revolution is necessary? The Communist Party can do this by becoming the trusted vanguard, the beloved organizer and leader of the struggle of the working class. Agitation and propaganda alone are insufficient. Something more is needed to convince the masses of the proletariat of the necessity for the overthrow of the old order.

Learn Through Struggle

The workers also need schooling through their daily struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party. Workers learn by their own experiences that only through stubborn struggle can they wrest any concessions from the capitalists. They learn the relationship of classes in present-day society. They learn the nature of bourgeois democracy and of fascism. They learn the role of the henchmen of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, they learn the role of the reformist leaders of the trade unions and of the Socialist Party. In other words, the proletarian masses learn through their own experiences that their class, the working class, has class enemies—the bosses, the exploiters, the capitalists and their henchmen. They learn that there is only one way out of misery, insecurity, unemployment, etc.—the way of the final overthrow of the old order, and the establishment of the new—the proletarian dictatorship.

These experiences will be learned in the day-to-day struggles in the fight for better conditions, in strikes for higher wages and shorter hours, in the struggles for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, against evictions. The masses will learn in these

struggles who their enemies are. They will see the police with their clubs and revolvers and gas bombs, the militia with their machine guns; the extra-legal forces of the bourgeoisie (Ku Klux Klan, Vigilantes, etc.) with their lynch law; the press with its poisonous anti-working class propaganda; they will recognize the role of the church; the judges with their injunctions and vicious sentences against workers; the mayor of the city or town, the governor of the state, the President of the United States, always supporting the capitalists. They will see the reactionary leaders in the A. F. of L. unions treacherously helping the bosses to crush the struggles of the workers for a decent living and against capitalism. They will see the efforts of the Socialist Party leaders to fuse themselves more and more with the leaders of the A. F. of L. unions. They will see the cynically conciliatory policy of the Right wing of the S.P. toward the bourgeoisie and A. F. of L. bureaucrats. They will see the role of the Trotskyites as the advance guard of the counter-revolution, supplying the capitalists with "arguments" against Communism and the Workers' Fatherland, the Soviet Union. They will see the Lovestoneites, the renegades from Communism.

Convince Through Leadership

The workers learn through their own experiences that they must have a Communist Party, which leads them in their struggles, which draws the correct conclusions from these struggles, and which, in the preparation for, and in the midst of, the struggles, continuously exposes every move of the enemy and teaches the workers the lessons that should be learned in their struggles. The Communist Party, part and parcel of the proletariat, has only one interest: a better life for the exploited, oppressed masses, the end of all exploitation. While

the Communist Party knows that hunger and misery cannot be finally abolished under the capitalist system, it leads and organizes the fight of the masses for better conditions now because the interests of the workers are its interests, and because it knows these day-to-day struggles develop the workers for their final task—the overthrow of capitalism.

The Communist Party explains to the workers that even those concessions which are won by them through hard-fought battles will be taken back by the bourgeoisie unless the workers build and strengthen their mass combat organizations, especially their unions. In these fights the masses will see their enemies, will realize that there is only one Party they can trust, only one Party which fights uncompromisingly with them against the enemy, the Party which is their flesh and blood—their Party —the Communist Party.

In this way, the Communist Party will win the confidence of the masses, and become their recognized leader, their General Staff, their vanguard, which they will follow in the final battle to victory.

Bourgeois Dictatorship—Proletarian Dictatorship Bourgeois Democracy—Proletarian Democracy

Comrade Stalin in his book, *Foundations of Leninism*, gives a very clear analysis of the question of dictatorship and democracy. We quote a few paragraphs:

"The State is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. *In this respect* the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian State is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, there is an *essential* difference between the two, which is, that all class States that have existed heretofore have

been dictatorships of an exploiting minority over the exploited majority, whereas the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the exploited majority over an exploiting minority.

". . . the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be 'complete' democracy, a democracy for *all*, for rich and poor alike; a dictatorship of the proletariat 'must be a State that is democratic *in a new way* (*for* the proletariat and the poor in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (*against* the bourgeoisie)'.*

". . . 'pure' democracy, . . . 'perfect' . . . democracy and the like, are but bourgeois screens to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploiters and exploited is impossible. The theory of 'pure' democracy is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class which is tamed and fed by the imperialist plunderers. It was invented to hide the sores of capitalism, to camouflage imperialism and lend it moral strength in its struggle against the exploited masses. Under the capitalist system there is no true 'freedom' for the exploited, nor can there be, if for no other reason than that the buildings, printing plants, paper supplies, etc., indispensable for the actual enjoyment of this 'freedom', are the privilege of the exploiters. Under the capitalist system the exploited masses do not, nor can they, really participate in the administration of the country, if for no other reason than that even with the most democratic system under capitalism, the governments are set up, not by the people, but by the Rothschilds and Stinneses, the Morgans and Rockefellers.

"Democracy under the capitalist system is *capitalist* democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority and directed against this majority. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat is real 'freedom' for the exploited and real participation in the administra-

* Quoted from V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

tion of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat democracy is *proletarian* democracy—the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority." (*Foundations of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, pp. 51-52.)

THE ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

The chief strategic aim of our Party in the present period is to win the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism. This is an essential condition for victory over the bourgeoisie and for preparing the workers for the decisive battles for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class. But the workers cannot fulfill their mission if they fail to win over the wide sections of the toiling masses. It is essential that the proletariat wins to its cause all its allies, without whom there cannot be a successful revolution.

Who are the allies of the American working class? The *Open Letter*, adopted by the Central Committee in July, 1933, very clearly answers this question.

The Poor and Small Farmers

The *Open Letter* stressed the following facts: The most important allies of the American working class are the poor and small farmers. These farmers, as well as broad sections of the middle farmers, are hardest hit by the whole development of post-war capitalism and especially by the economic crisis. They are most brutally exploited by the government, by the banks, by the trusts and the insurance companies. Their interests are consequently directed objectively against finance capital.

The main task of the Party in its work among

agrarian toilers is, above all, the organization of the agricultural wage workers, organizing them into the trade unions and the Party, organizing and leading strikes of the agricultural workers for better wages and working conditions. Such strikes, in many places, have already played an important part in the development of the farmers' movement. At the same time the Party has the important task of winning over the poor and small farmers, and also broad sections of ruined middle farmers, for the struggle against capitalism on the side of the proletariat; while at the same time it must strive to neutralize other sections of middle farmers. This is an important prerequisite for a successful struggle against the offensive of capitalism, against fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, and for the final victory of the proletariat.

The Negro People

The other important ally of the American proletariat is the mass of 13,000,000 Negro people in their struggle against national oppression. The Communist Party, as the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, as the only Party which is courageously and resolutely carrying on a struggle against the double exploitation and national oppression of the Negro people, becoming particularly intense with the developing crisis, can win over the great masses of Negro people as allies of the proletariat against the American bourgeoisie.

The Party can stand at the head of the national revolutionary struggle of the Negro masses against American imperialism only if it energetically carries through the following tasks:

"The Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt. It must ruthlessly combat any

form of white chauvinism and Jim-Crow practices. It must not only in words, but in deeds, overcome all obstacles to the drawing in of the best elements of the Negro proletariat, who in the recent years have shown themselves to be self-sacrificing fighters in the struggle against capital. In view of this, special attention must be given to the promotion of Negro proletarians to leading work in the Party organizations. In all mass actions, strikes and unemployed struggles the Party must pay particular attention that, in formulating practical demands, it takes into consideration and gives expression to the special forms of exploitation, oppression and denial of the rights of the employed and unemployed Negro masses. At the same time the Party and in the first place the Negro comrades must genuinely improve the methods of patient, systematic but persistent struggle against the ideology and influence of petty-bourgeois nationalists among the Negro workers and toiling Negro masses." (*An Open Letter to All Members of the Communist Party*, pp. 14-15.)

International Solidarity

The Communist Party systematically aids the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries (Cuba, Philippines, Latin-America, India, China, etc., etc.).

The Communist Party mobilizes the masses for international solidarity with the struggle of the workers in other capitalist countries.

The Communist Party rallies the masses against imperialist war and fascism, and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of workers all over the world. It is the achievement of the international proletariat. It is the most important factor for the liberation of all workers in every country. Therefore, the workers all over the world

must help the Soviet Union in building socialism, and must defend it with all their power against the attacks of the capitalist powers.

The Petty Bourgeoisie

It is necessary and possible also to win over to the side of the workers broad sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie and intellectual workers in the cities and to neutralize other sections of the petty bourgeoisie (municipal and state employees, lower officials, teachers, intellectuals, students, petty bourgeois war invalids, artisans, small shop-keepers), who have been brought into action as a result of the tremendous pressure of the crisis. This can be done only if the Party will come out resolutely in defense of their interests, by organizing and leading teachers' strikes, students' demonstrations, resistance to reduction of salaries of city and state employees, resistance to robbery through inflation and bank crashes, etc.

But the more widespread the movement among the non-proletarian masses becomes and the more acute the task of winning allies of the proletariat becomes, the more intensely must the Party work to extend and organize its proletarian base. This very extension of the movement of the non-proletarian masses makes it incumbent on the Party not to allow itself to be side-tracked from its main task, namely, the winning of the decisive influence in the factories, above all in the basic industries (steel, metal, railway, maritime, mining, etc.), and the systematic building up of factory nuclei and trade-union organizations.

"If the Party intensifies its activity among the petty-bourgeois masses without at the same time and above all strengthening its base in the big factories and among the most important sections of the American working class . . . *then the danger arises* that the Party, having only weak contacts

with the decisive sections of American workers, will be driven away from its proletarian base, and instead of leading the petty-bourgeois masses will succumb to the influence of petty-bourgeois sentiments, illusions and petty-bourgeois methods of work." (*Open Letter*, p. 16.)

THE UNITED FRONT

"The increasingly sharp attacks against the workers raise more insistently than ever the necessity of the establishment of the working-class fighting front to resist these attacks and to win the demands of the workers. The working class in the United States is still largely unorganized. That part which is organized is largely under the influence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which keeps it split up in innumerable ways by craft divisions, by discriminations against the Negroes and foreign-born, by divisions between the skilled and unskilled, etc. That smaller section which has begun to question the capitalist system is further divided between the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, while a considerable section stands aside, still bewildered by these divisions and the problems it does not yet understand, and further confused by the shouts of those small but active groups, the renegades from Communism, the Musteites, etc." (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, p. 55.)

The Communist Party understands that the road towards our main strategic aim, the winning of the majority of the working class for revolutionary battles, leads through a broad united front of the masses. The united front is organized by the Communist Party for the united struggle of Communists and all other workers, members of other parties or of no party whatever, for the defense of the interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie.

The Communists do not make any conditions for the united front except that the unity shall be one of struggle for the particular demands agreed upon. The united front is therefore, first and foremost, the coming together of working class forces for action for demands upon which the forces have agreed. For example: In a given factory the workers may be Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, or members of the A. F. of L. without any political affiliation; Catholics, Protestants, etc. When the employer increases the working hours or reduces the wages, the policy of the Communist Party is immediately to unite the workers to resist the employer's attacks, to organize shop committees, grievance committees, to bring the various unions and the workers who belong to different parties into a solid line against the bosses. This united front, according to the situation, will enable the workers in this given factory to fight unitedly against the bosses. In this action the Communist Party will show the workers that only the Communist method of waging the struggle will bring victory.

The systematic application of the united front in the big factories is of decisive importance, especially for leading strikes, establishing a united fighting front, and tearing down the barriers between the revolutionary workers and the masses of other workers. The decisive factor in establishing the united front is tireless, every day activity among the workers in order to prove, in every question, the correctness of our slogans and our proposals for action.

Apply to Unions

This application of the united front of the factory workers in action is very easily understood. But when we pass from the factories to the unions and to the parties, the confusion begins. What is the

difference between the average trade unionist and a Communist? The trade unionist thinks only of the interest of the workers in the particular trade or occupation embraced by his own union. The Communist thinks of the interests of the working class as a whole, and aims to bring the whole working class into common action for their common interests. The method of the united-front action in the factory must also be applied to the unions, which must be brought together for common action. But the bureaucratic leaders of the unions are against such a policy for obvious reasons (their role as agents of the bourgeoisie).

Nevertheless, we must consider the fact that they are at the head of the unions of the workers, and therefore cannot be ignored. In most instances, if the rank and file is approached by us for a united front, the first reaction is: Did the executive committee of our union take up this question? Is it endorsed by them? If we have not approached their leaders, we already find one obstacle against the workers even considering our proposal. Therefore, in many cases while approaching the rank-and-file membership directly with our united-front proposals for action on specific issues, while organizing our influence through building united-front committees (shop committees, grievance committees, etc), in the factories, and in this way increasing our influence, we also appeal, at the same time, to the leaders of the unions and the Socialist Party who have a mass following, and we are prepared to negotiate with them. If they agree to act with us, so much the better, even though we may be sure that at some stage of the action they will try to betray the workers. If they refuse to negotiate for the united front, then we must expose them and the obstacle they are putting in the way of the united front. In this manner, the prestige of the bureaucratic

officialdom in the minds of the rank and file of the unions receives a severe blow.

The united front must not be limited only to special campaigns. Nor must we abandon efforts to achieve a united front because we do not succeed at once in winning over the workers for struggle, and because they do not at once want to separate themselves from their reformist leaders. The united front must not lead to subordination of the revolutionary policies to that of the reformist leaders in the way of a so-called "non-aggression pact". United front means uninterrupted, patient, convincing work to destroy the influence of reformists and the bourgeoisie. The rejection of the united front proposals of our Party and the immediate urgent demands of the workers by the reformist leaders must impel us to make even stronger efforts to organize a common fighting front in the factories, mines, and among the unemployed masses, in the locals and branches of the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party, with the workers who are under the influence of the reformists.

On All Issues

The united front could and should be built on all issues concerning the interests of the working class, such as war and fascism, elections, unemployment insurance, wage cuts, conditions, hours, defense of political prisoners, etc., besides the immediate daily problems of the workers in the factory or in the industry.

The Communist Party in the united-front activities does not give up for a moment its independent political role. Thus, the Party, in all phases of the united-front action, while fighting side by side with the non-Party workers, must politicalize the struggle and show its perspective clearly.

The Party, in its every day work, must clarify to

the workers in a positive and concrete way the principal difference between us and the reformists. The Party, by its practical work, must prove to the workers that we are the fighters for a united struggle and that the reformist leaders are the splitters and disrupters of the struggle.

We must show clearly in action that the Communist Party is the only Party that fights uncompromisingly for the interests of the workers.

II. Basic Principles of Party Organization

THE Communist Party is organized in such a way as to guarantee, first, complete inner unity of outlook; and, second, combination of the strictest discipline with the widest initiative and independent activity of the Party membership. Both of these conditions are guaranteed because the Party is organized on the basis of democratic centralism.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic centralism is the system according to which:

1. All leading committees of the Party, from the Unit Bureaus up to the highest committees, are elected by the membership or delegates of the given Party organization.

2. Every elected Party committee must report regularly on its activity to its Party organization. It must give an account of its work.

3. The lower Party committees and all Party members of the given Party organization have the duty of carrying out the decisions of the higher Party committees and of the Communist International. In other words, decisions of the C.I. and of the higher Party committees are binding upon the lower bodies.

4. Party discipline is observed by the Party members and Party organizations because only those who agree with the program of the Communist Party and the C.I. can become members of the Party.

5. The minority carries out the decisions of the majority (subordination of the minority to the majority). Party questions are discussed by the mem-

bers of the Party and by the Party organization until such time as a decision is made by the Party committee or organization. After a decision has been made by the leading committees of the C.I., by the Central Committee of the Party, or by the National Convention, this decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a minority of the Party membership or a minority of the local Party organizations is in disagreement with it.

6. The Party organizations, Units, Sections, and Districts, have the full initiative, right and duty to decide on local questions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

Decisions of Higher Bodies Binding on Lower Bodies

On the basis of democratic centralism, all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies; District organizations are subordinated to the Central Committee; Section organizations are subordinated to the District Committee; Party Units (shop, street and town) are subordinated to the Section Committees.

All decisions of the World Congress and committees of the C.I. must be fulfilled by all parties of the C.I. All decision of the National Convention and the Central Committee must be fulfilled by the whole Party; all decisions of the District Convention and Committee must be fulfilled by the Section organizations of that District; all decisions of the Section Convention and Committee are binding on the shop, street and town Units in that Section.

A Party committee or Unit Bureau, throughout the whole of its activity from Convention to Convention, from Conference to Conference, from Unit meeting to Unit meeting, is not only under the control of the higher Party committees, but also under the control of the whole Party membership in the

given organization. In cases where the elected Party committee is not capable of carrying out its task and the correct Party line, this committee can be changed through the calling of an extraordinary Conference by decision of the higher committees, or by the initiative of the lower organizations with the approval of the higher committees.

The Communist Party puts the interest of the working class and the Party above everything. The Party subordinates all forms of Party organization to these interests. From this it follows that one form of organization is suitable for legal existence of the Party, and another for the conditions of underground, illegal existence. Under conditions where there is no possibility of holding open elections or broad Conventions, the form of democratic centralism necessarily has to be changed. In such a situation, it is inevitable that co-option be used as well as election. That means that in such a situation the higher committees will appoint the lower committees (for example, the Central Committee may appoint the District Committee; the District Committee may appoint the Section Committee, etc.). Or, in very exceptional cases, when the lower committee is to act quickly, this committee has the right to co-opt new members to the committee from among the best leaders of the organization; and this co-option must be approved by the higher committee.

But even in the most difficult situation, the Party finds ways and means of holding elections. The Conventions or Conferences under such conditions will necessarily be smaller. The organization will be tighter so as to eliminate as far as possible the danger of the exposure of delegates to the class enemies. Under conditions of extreme terror, open election of committees would endanger the elected leaders and make it possible for the bourgeoisie and their police agents to capture the leaders of the

Party, and in this way cripple the revolutionary movement. Therefore, such a method is used by the Party in electing leading committees during such a period which eliminates the danger of exposure.

Democratic centralism therefore represents a flexible system of Party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in the Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class.

PARTY DISCUSSION AND FREEDOM OF CRITICISM

The free discussion on questions of Party policy in individual Party organizations or in the Party as a whole, is the fundamental right of every Party member as a principal point of Party democracy. Only on the basis of internal Party democracy is it possible to develop Bolshevik self-criticism and to strengthen Party discipline, which must be conscious and not mechanical. There is complete freedom of discussion in the Party until a majority decision has been made by the Unit or the leading committee, after which discussion must cease and the decision be carried out by every organization and individual member of the Party.

It is clear, however, that basic principles and decisions, such, as for example, the Program of the Communist International, cannot be questioned in the Party.

We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and

Stalin. We do not question the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism.

We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of the C.I., of the Convention of the Party, or of the Central Committee after they are ratified. Otherwise, every under-cover agent of the bourgeoisie and every sympathizer of the renegades would have an opportunity of continually raising their counter-revolutionary theories in the Units, Sections, etc., and make the members spend time and energy in discussing such questions, thus not only disrupting the work of the Party, but also creating confusion among the less experienced and trained elements in the Party. (As a matter of fact, this is what enemies of the Party are always trying to do in the name of "democracy".)

However, that does not mean that the problems dealt with in such decisions—and how best to apply these decisions—are not to be clarified in the Party organizations by discussion. On the contrary, a most thorough discussion for the purpose of making every Party member understand these resolutions and decisions and how to apply them is essential for effective Party work.

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Party discipline is based upon the class-consciousness of its members; upon the conviction that without the minority accepting and carrying out the decisions of the majority, without the subordination of the lower Party organizations to the higher committees, there can be no strong, solid, steeled Party able to lead the proletariat. This discipline is based upon the acceptance of the C.I. and the Party program and in the confidence of the membership in the Communist International and in the Central Committee.

There can be no discipline in the Party if there is no conscious and voluntary submission on the basis of a thorough understanding of the decisions of the Party. *"Only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline"* (Stalin).

Why Do the Communists Attach So Much Importance to Discipline?

Because without discipline there is no unity of will, no unity in action. Our Party is the organized and most advanced section of the working class. The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat in the class war. In this class war there is the capitalist class with its henchmen and helpers, the reformist leaders, on one side, and the working class and its allies, on the other. The class war is bitter. The enemy is powerful; it has all the means of deceit and suppression (armed forces, militia, police, courts, movies, radio, press, schools, churches, etc.). In order to combat and defeat this powerful enemy, the army of the proletariat must have a highly skilled, trained General Staff (the Communist Party), which is united in action and has one will. How can an army fight against the army of the enemy if every soldier in the army is allowed to question and even disobey orders of his superior officers? What would happen in a war if, for example, the General Staff orders an attack, and one section of the army decides to obey and go into battle; another thinks that it is wrong to attack the enemy at this time and stays away from the battle; and a third section decides to quit the trenches and retreat to another position instead of going forward?

Unity in Action

Let us take an example from the class struggle.

The District Committee decides that a demonstration should be held against police terror and gives directives to the Sections to mobilize the whole membership to get the greatest possible number of workers to the demonstration. The date and place of the demonstration are set by the District Committee. One Section, after receiving the decisions, works out plans to mobilize the masses, and activizes the whole Section to work for the demonstration. Another Section does not think that the issue is very important and neglects to mobilize the membership; a third Section decides that the time set by the District Committee is not the best one and instructs its members to mobilize at a later hour; and a fourth Section decides to come at an earlier hour. What kind of a demonstration would it be? What would workers think and say about such a Party?

Our Party cannot lead the masses if there is not unity in action. Unity of will and action can be achieved only if all the members of the Party act as one—are disciplined. If each Party member should decide which decision of the Party he wanted to carry out; if each member would carry out only those decisions which he liked and ignored those with which he disagreed, it would be impossible to lead the masses in the struggle against capitalism. An army with that kind of leadership would be defeated.

Unified opinion is essential for unity in action, for successful work of the Communist Party. What would happen if each Party member would interpret a political issue individually and bring his individual opinion to the masses? The workers in a factory, for example, would get as many opinions on certain questions as there are Party members in the factory.

The unified opinion which is hammered out in the Party by discussion is necessary in order that the Party be able to lead the masses in their constant struggles.

WHAT IS SELF-CRITICISM?

Self-criticism is the most important means for developing Communist consciousness and thereby strengthening discipline and democratic centralism. Self-criticism helps to discover all the mistakes, deviations, shortcomings, which separate us from the masses, and to correct them. It helps us to discover and expose the harmful policies or practices of organizations and individuals who work against the interest of the masses. Self-criticism helps us to improve the work of the Party organizations; to exterminate bureaucracy; to expose the agents of the enemy in our ranks.

"Let us take, for instance, the matter of guidance of economic and other organizations on the part of the Party organizations. Is everything satisfactory in this respect? No, it is not. Often questions are decided, not only in the locals, but also in the center, so to speak, 'en famille', the family circle. Ivan Ivanovitch, a member of the leading group of some organization, made, let us say, a big mistake and made a mess of things. But Ivan Federovitch does not want to criticize him, show up his mistakes and correct him. He does not want to, because he is not disposed to 'make enemies'. A mistake was made, things went wrong, but what of it, who does not make mistakes?

"Today I will show up Ivan Ivanovitch. Tomorrow he will do the same to me. Let Ivan Ivanovitch, therefore, not be molested, because where is the guarantee that I will not make a mistake in the future? Thus everything remains spick and span. There is peace and good will among men. Leaving the mistake uncorrected harms our great cause, but that is nothing! As long as we can get out of the mess somehow. Such, comrades, is the usual attitude of some of our responsible people. But what does that mean? If

we, Bolsheviks, who criticize the whole world, who, in the words of Marx, storm the heavens, if we refrain from self-criticism for the sake of the peace of some comrades, is it not clear that nothing but ruin awaits our great cause and that nothing good can be expected?

"Marx said that the proletarian revolution differs, by the way, from other revolutions in the fact that it criticizes itself and that in criticizing itself it becomes consolidated. This is a very important point Marx made. If we, the representatives of the proletarian revolution, shut our eyes to our shortcomings, settle questions around a family table, keeping mutually silent concerning our mistakes, and drive our ulcers into our Party organism, who will correct these mistakes and shortcomings? Is it not clear that we cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, and that we shall surely meet with shipwreck if we do not exterminate from our midst this philistinism, this domestic spirit in the solution of important questions of our construction? Is it not clear that by refraining from honest and straight-forward self-criticism, refraining from an honest and straight making good of mistakes, we block our road to progress, betterment of our cause, and new success for our cause? The process of our development is neither smooth nor general. No, comrades, we have classes, there are antagonisms within the country, we have a past, we have a present and a future, there are contradictions between them, and we cannot progress smoothly, tossed by the waves of life. Our progress proceeds in the form of struggle, in the form of developing contradictions, in the form of overcoming these contradictions, in the form of revealing and liquidating these contradictions.

"As long as there are classes we shall never be able to have a situation when we shall be able to say, 'Thank goodness, everything is all right'. This will never be, comrades. There will always be something dying out. But that which dies does

not want to die; it fights for its existence, it defends its dying cause. There is always something new coming into life. But that which is being born is not born quietly, but whimpers and screams, fighting for its right to live. Struggle between the old and the new, between the moribund and that which is being born—such is the basis of our development. Without pointing out and exposing openly and honestly, as Bolsheviks should do, the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we block our road to progress. But we do want to go forward. And just because we go forward, we must make one of our foremost tasks an honest and revolutionary self-criticism. Without this there is no progress." (Stalin, *Report to the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 65-66.)

Two Kinds of Criticism

Self-criticism is a natural part of the life of the Party. How can the members fail to criticize the Bureau or committee if its work is poor, if it makes mistakes? Without self-criticism there can be no Communist Party. But this criticism must never depart from the line of the Party, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We should make it very clear that there are two kinds of criticism: one which, on the basis of the line of the Party, on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice, analyzes mistakes and shortcomings, and offers concrete proposals for improvement in the work of the organization or individual member. This is Bolshevik self-criticism—constructive criticism. A good example of such self-criticism is the *Open Letter*, adopted at the Extraordinary Party Conference. The other is the kind of criticism which is based on distortion of the line of the Party or does not offer any proposal to improve the work, or to correct mistakes. This

is destructive criticism,, which, if tolerated, inevitably leads not only to driving out new members, discouraging the weaker elements and disrupting the work of the Party, but also leads to factionalism.

WHAT IS FACTIONALISM AND WHERE DOES IT LEAD?

Comrade Stalin, in his speech on the Communist Party of the U.S.A., in 1929, gave an excellent answer to this question:

". . . factionalism weakens the Party spirit, it dulls the revolutionary sense and blinds the Party workers to such an extent that, in the factional passion, they are obliged to place the interests of faction above the interests of the Party, above the interests of the Comintern, above the interests of the working class. Factionalism not infrequently brings matters to such a pass that the Party workers, blinded by the factional struggle, are inclined to gauge all facts, all events in the life of the Party, not from the point of view of the interests of the Party and the working class, but from the point of view of the narrow interests of their own faction, from the point of view of their own factional kitchen.

". . . factionalism interferes with the training of the Party in the spirit of a policy of principles; it prevents the training of the cadres in an honest, proletarian, incorruptible revolutionary spirit, free from rotten diplomacy and unprincipled intrigue. Leninism declares that a policy based on principles is the only correct policy. Factionalism, on the contrary, believes that the only correct policy is one of factional diplomacy and unprincipled factional intrigue. That is why an atmosphere of factional struggle cultivates not politicians of principle, but adroit factionalist manipulators, experienced rascals and Mensheviks, smart in fooling the 'enemy' and covering up traces. It is true that

such 'educational' work of the factionalists is contrary to the fundamental interests of the Party and the working class. But the factionalists do not give a rap for that—all they care about is their own factional diplomatic kitchen, their own group interests. . . .

"It is, therefore, not surprising that politicians of principle and honest proletarian revolutionaries get no sympathy from the factionalists. On the other hand, factional tricksters and manipulators, unprincipled intriguers and backstage wire pullers and masters in the formation of unprincipled blocs are held by them in high honor.

". . . factionalism, by weakening the will for unity in the Party and by undermining its iron discipline, creates within the Party a peculiar factional regime, as a result of which the whole internal life of our Party is robbed of its conspirative protection in the face of the class enemy, and the Party itself runs the danger of being transformed into a plaything of the agents of the bourgeoisie. This, as a rule, comes about in the following way: Let us say that some question is being decided in the Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee. Within the Polit-Bureau there is a minority and a majority which regard each decision from their factional standpoint. If a factional regime prevails in the Party, the wirepullers of both factions immediately inform the peripheral machine of this or that decision of the Polit-Bureau, endeavoring to prepare it for their own advantage and swing it in the direction they desire. As a rule, this process of information becomes a regular system. It becomes a regular system because each faction regards it as its duty to inform its peripheral machine in the way it thinks fit and to hold its periphery in a condition of mobilization in readiness for a scrap with the factional enemy. As a result, important secret decisions of the Party become general knowledge. In this way the agents of the bourgeoisie attain access to the secret decisions of the Party and

make it easy to use the knowledge of the internal life of the Party against the interests of the Party. True, such a regime threatens the complete demoralization of the ranks of the Party. But the factionalists do not care about that, since, for them, the interests of their group are supreme.

". . . factionalism consists in the fact that it completely nullifies all positive work done in the Party; it robs the Party workers of all desire to concern themselves with the day-to-day needs of the working class (wages, hours, the improvement of the material welfare of the workers, etc.); it weakens the work of the Party in preparing the working class for the class conflicts with the bourgeoisie and thereby creates a state of affairs in which the authority of the Party must inevitably suffer in the eyes of the workers, and the workers, instead of flocking to the Party, are compelled to quit the Party ranks. . . . What have the factional leaders of the majority and the minority been chiefly occupied with lately? With factional scandal-mongering, with every kind of petty factional trifle, the drawing up of useless platforms and subplatforms, the introduction of tens and hundreds of amendments and sub-amendments to these platforms.

"Weeks and months are wasted lying in ambush for the factional enemy, trying to entrap him, trying to dig up something in the personal life of the factional enemy, or, if nothing can be found, inventing some fiction about him. It is obvious that positive work must suffer in such an atmosphere, the life of the Party becomes petty, the authority of the Party declines and the workers, the best, the revolutionary-minded workers, who want action and not scandal-mongering, are forced to leave the Party.

"That, fundamentally, is the evil of factionalism in the ranks of a Communist Party." (*Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party*, pp. 27-30.)

III. Structure and Functions of the Party Organizations

THE most important points where the Communist Party must work untiringly so as to fulfill the task of winning the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism are the following:

1. The big factories, mines, mills, docks, ships, railroads, etc., where the great masses of the basic sections of the proletariat are employed. The Communist Party puts its main energy into building Party organizations in these places.

2. The A. F. of L. unions and Railroad Brotherhoods, where millions of organized workers can be won for the Party program and led in decisive struggles. The Communist Party realizes that one of the most important tasks in winning the majority of the decisive sections of the proletariat is gaining influence among members of A. F. of L. unions. In order to achieve this, *every available Party member must join the union of his industry, craft or occupation* and work there in a real Bolshevik manner, helping to build the union, fighting for better conditions, exposing the bureaucratic, treacherous leaders as the agents of the employers and, in this way, proving to the rank and file what the leadership of the Communists means in the labor movement.

3. The independent unions where the Communists must work with the same energy and perspective as as in the A. F. of L. unions.

4. The organized and unorganized masses of unemployed. The Communist Party fighting for unemployment relief and insurance leads and organizes the unemployed masses, maintains fractions in all

organizations of the unemployed and forges an unbreakable link between the unemployed and employed workers in the fight for social insurance and better conditions.

5. The fraternal, cultural and sport organizations in which there are large numbers of working people. The Communist Party persistently works in the mass organizations of workers, especially workers in basic industries, and through the effective work of disciplined fraction leads them and wins their confidence in the Communist Party.

6. The Negro organizations (churches, fraternal, cultural, etc.). The Communist Party through well functioning fractions in these institutions of the Negro people, leads the fight for the special interests of the Negroes (against discrimination, segregation) for the liberation struggle of the Negro people.

7. The huge farms where large numbers of agricultural workers are employed. The Communist Party through its farm Units fights for the interests of the agricultural workers (farm laborers) and organizes them in unions.

The main strategic aim of the Communist Party is to win the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution. In order to achieve this aim the Communist Party establishes closely knit organizations everywhere where workers work for their living (factory), where they live (neighborhood), where they are organized for the defense of their economic interests (unions and unemployment organizations), or organized for satisfying their cultural desires (clubs, sports and cultural organizations). These Party organizations which lead the masses in the struggle for their economic and political demands are the following: (1) Shop and Street Units. Both of these forms of organizations are full-fledged Party bodies. (2) Fractions. The Party leads the masses organized in unions and other mass organiza-

tions through the fractions which are instruments in the hands of the Party to carry the policy of the Party among the masses.

THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The basic organization of the Party is the Shop Unit (Nucleus), which may consist of three members or more in a given place of employment, *i.e.*, factory, shop, mine, mill, dock, ship, railway terminal, office, store, farm, etc.

The other form of membership organization is the Street or Town Unit, comprising a group of members living within a given territory.

The leadership of the Unit is the Unit Bureau, elected by the membership of the Unit.

The next higher organization is the Section. The Section is made up of a number of Shop, Street or Town Units in a given territory. The size of the territory of a Section is decided upon by the District Committee. The Party always strives to make the territory of the Sections as small as possible in order to be able to carry on work more effectively.

The highest body in the Section is the Section Convention. The Section Convention is a meeting of delegates elected by the Shop and Street Units of the Section. The leading committee in the Section is the Section Committee and is elected by the delegates at the Section Convention from among the best members of the Section. The Section Committee is the highest leading body in the Section between Conventions. It is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the Section Convention. The elected Section Committee must be approved by the District Committee. The Section Organizer is elected by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the District Committee. Should the District Committee not approve the election of a Section Organizer the

reasons for this action are discussed and explanation made to the Section Committee.

The next highest organization in the Party is the District. The District organization is made up of the Sections in a territory assigned to it by the Central Committee. The District covers a certain portion of the country (a part of one, or one, two and sometimes three states, depending upon the industries, on the size of the membership, etc.). The highest body in the District is the District Convention, which is a meeting of delegates elected at the Conventions of the Sections in the District. Between Conventions, the highest committee in the District is the District Committee, elected by the delegates of the Sections at the District Convention. The District Committee is responsible for all its actions and decisions to the District Convention and Central Committee. The elected District Committee has to be approved by the Central Committee. The District Organizer (political leader) is elected by the District Committee subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

The highest Party body is the National Convention. The National Convention is a meeting of delegates elected at the District Conventions. The highest committee of the Party in one country is the Central Committee, elected by the delegates at the National Convention. The Central Committee leads the Party organizations, with full authority, between Conventions and is responsible for its actions and decisions to the National Convention and to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION TO CONVENTIONS?

The number of delegates to Conventions is not fixed in the Constitution of the Party.

It depends on the conditions in a given situation, plus the numerical strength of the given Units, Sections and Districts.

The strategic importance of a Shop Unit, or Concentration Section, or of a District is the governing factor in deciding the number of delegates to the Convention. For example, the Section Committee can decide whether a Shop Unit from a big factory sends proportionately more delegates to the Section Convention than a Street Unit with the same number of, or perhaps even more, members.

The conditions under which the Party works are also an important factor in deciding the number of delegates. For example, a District which works partly illegally will have a smaller number of delegates to the District Convention than other District with the same number of Units working more openly.

On the other hand, in one District, because of certain problems which have to be clarified before the broadest possible gathering, the situation may demand a much larger representation from the Units or Sections to the Section or District Convention than another District where no such problem exists.

At the Eighth Party Convention of our Party, the general rule of representation was the following:

1. The Units elected one delegate for each five members to the Section Convention.

2. The Section Conventions elected one delegate for each 15 members in the Section to the District Convention.

3. The District Conventions elected one delegate for each 100 members in the District to the National Convention.

THE PARTY CONFERENCES

The Sections, with the approval of the District Committee, and the Districts, with the approval of the Central Committee, may call meetings of dele-

gates for a conference between Conventions. These conferences take up the work of the respective organizations and discuss problems concerning new tactics necessitated by changed situations. The difference between a convention and conference is that the conference does not elect a new leadership and that all decisions must be approved by the higher Party committee. The Party conference has the right to elect new members to the Committee if some old ones have been removed for one reason or another, and has the right to remove individual members from the committee if for sufficient reason it believes they are not fit to be leaders of the organization.

PARTY COMMITTEES AND THEIR SIZE

The Party committees elected at the Conventions are composed of the best, most developed comrades in the given organization. Representation to the Section Committee is not on the basis of representation from each Unit; nor does each Section elect a representative to the District Committee. At the same time we must bear in mind that the Section Committee or a higher Party committee must have among its members comrades who are working in the most important factories, as well as members of the most important trade unions, in order to maintain a living connection between the leadership and the masses at these important points.

The size of the Party committees always depends on the numerical strength of the organization which elects it, on the importance of the organization, and on the given situation. The approximate average size of the committee is the following:

Unit Bureau — 3-5 members
Section Committee — 9-11 members
District Committee—15-19 members
Central Committee—30-35 members

WHAT ARE THE PARTY BUREAUS?

The Bureau is the leading body in the Section, District and Center between committee meetings, acts with full authority during this period, and is responsible to the committee by which it is elected. Their approximate size is:

Section Bureau —about 5 members
District Bureau —about 7-9 members
Political Bureau of the C.C.—7-9 members

As a general rule the Party committees meet as follows:

Unit Bureau—once a week
Section Bureau—once a week
Section Committee—twice, usually, but at least once a month
District Bureau—once a week
District Committee—once a month
Political Bureau—once a week
Central Committee—once in two months

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (COMINTERN)

The Communist International is the international organization of Communist Parties in all countries. It is the World Communist Party. The Communist Parties in the various countries affiliated to the Comintern are called Sections of the Communist International.

The World Congress composed of delegates from all the parties affiliated to the Communist International (Comintern) is the highest authority in Communist Party organization.

The date of the Congress and the number of delegates from the various Communist Parties are decided upon by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.). But the number of

votes allocated to each Party at the World Congress is decided upon by special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the given Party and the political importance of the given country.

The leading body of the Communist International during the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E.C.C.I.), elected by the delegates at the World Congress. The decisions of the E.C.C.I. are binding for all Parties belonging to the Comintern and must be promptly carried out. The Communist Parties have the right to appeal against decisions of the E.C.C.I. to the World Congresses, but must proceed to carry out such decisions pending the final action of the World Congress on the appeal. The leadership of the Comintern (C.I.) is composed of the best, most developed, experienced, tried, leaders of the various Communist Parties.

The meetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are in size similar to a World Congress. These meetings are called the Enlarged Plenums of the Executive Committee of the C.I. Besides the elected members of the Executive Committee of the C.I. there are invited to this Enlarged Plenum additional delegates from the various countries, so that these Plenums have 300 or 400 delegates present from the various Parties. The difference between a Congress and an Enlarged Plenum consists in the fact that while delegates to the Congress are elected on the basis of numerical strength and political importance of the Communist Parties, the number of additional invited delegates from the Communist Parties to the Enlarged Plenum is decided upon on the basis of the order of business of the Plenum. These delegates are selected by the Central Committees of the various Communist Parties. At the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.

C.I. only the members of the E.C.C.I. have the right to vote. The other invited delegates have the right to participate in the discussion, but have only a consultative vote.

The E.C.C.I. elects from among its members a Presidium which is responsible to the E.C.C.I. The Presidium meets at least once a month and acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E.C.C.I. during the period between meetings of the latter.

The Presidium elects from among its members the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions between Presidium meetings, and is responsible to the Presidium.

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Let us briefly sum up the structure of the Communist Party in the order of responsibility on the basis of the foregoing description*:

Unit Bureau
Unit Membership Meeting
Section Bureau
Section Committee
Section Convention
District Bureau
District Committee
District Convention
Political Bureau of the C.C.
Central Committee
National Convention
Political Secretariat of the C.I.
Presidium of the C.I.
Executive Committee of the C.I.
World Congress of the C.I.

SHOP UNIT (NUCLEUS)

The Shop Unit (Nucleus) is the basic organization of our Party in the place of employment (factory,

* See chart inserted at p. 64.

shop, mine, dock, ship, office, store, etc.). Shop Units should be organized in every factory, shop, mine, etc., where there are three or more members of the Party.

The main strength of our movement is in the Units (Nuclei) in large factories because:

1. The large factories and railroads are the nerve centers of the economic and political life of the country.

2. In the large factories the workers are concentrated in large numbers.

3. Workers in these large factories have great influence on the workers in smaller shops.

4. The workers in large factories are better trained and disciplined by the process of large-scale production.

5. Workers in large factories are generally more militant because, concentrated in large numbers in one enterprise, they feel their strength.

Comrade Lenin, in "A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization," states that:

> ". . . The main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in large factories, because in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominanant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our stronghold."

ADVANTAGES OF SHOP UNIT FORM

Why is the Shop Unit (Nucleus) the best form of basic Party organization?

1. Workers feel the pressure of exploitation most in the factory where they are employed. There they have common interests and problems (wages, working conditions, etc.).

2. A properly working, well-trained, politically developed Shop Unit, although it may have to work under the most difficult conditions, because of the

highly developed spy system, etc., cannot be found out and gotten rid of by the boss. In order to stop the work of such a Unit, the boss must close the factory. That means stopping production—shutting off the profits.

3. The Shop Unit is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to organize and lead the other workers, to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being fired. Because of this method of work the Shop Unit will remain the most solid link with the masses under any conditions (terror, illegality).

4. The Shop Unit registers the reaction of the most decisive elements of the proletariat to every issue. The reaction, sentiment, opinion of the workers brought by the Shop Unit to the higher committee of the Party makes it possible to formulate the best policy or to correct and improve decisions. Through the Shop Units, Party Committees are in daily contact with the most important strata of the working class.

5. The leadership of the Party gets its strength from the Shop Units by drawing the most developed comrades into the leading Party committees. In this way direct contact with factory workers is established.

6. The Shop Units, through their daily activities in leading and organizing struggles in the factories, gain the confidence of the workers and spread the influence of the Party to wider and wider circles. At the same time the Shop Units bring into the Party the best elements of this decisive stratum of the proletariat, thus improving the social composition of the Party.

7. The Shop Unit is very effective in building real united fronts of workers on immediate issues (Grievance Committee, Shop Committee) and also on broader political issues (terror, election, war).

8. The Shop Units are instrumental in building and strengthening well-functioning fractions in the A. F. of L. and other unions.

9. The Shop Unit brings the *Daily Worker*, this mighty weapon of our Party, directly to the most important strata of the working class.

These are the main arguments for the necessity of building the Party in the factories. These arguments prove that in order to win the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, the Party must be rooted in the factories, mines, ships, docks, offices, etc.

"The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time." (*Open Letter*, p. 12.)

WHAT ARE THE BASIC INDUSTRIES?

The Party should concentrate all its forces and energy to build Shop Units, first of all in the basic industries.

Basic industries are those upon which the whole economic system depends. They include:

1. Those which produce material for production, like steel, mining, oil, chemicals.

2. Those which deliver material to the place of production or consumption, like railroad, trucking, marine, etc.

3. Those which produce power for running the wheels of industry, electric power plants, steam and hydro-electric plants, etc.

It is also important to concentrate all our energy to build the Party in the auto, textile and packing house industries because of their strategic importance in the economic system. Strong Party organizations (Shop Units) in these basic industries with a mass following could really influence and lead the millions of workers engaged in these as well as in all lesser industries in their daily struggles, and deliver decisive blows to capitalism.

While it is of the utmost importance to concentrate all energy of the Party to build and strengthen the Units in the basic industries, the other industries cannot be neglected. The Party systematically builds Units in light industries (clothing, shoe and leather, etc., in offices, stores, laundries, hotels and restaurants, etc.).

HOW TO BUILD SHOP UNITS

The stronghold, the fortress of the revolutionary movement, is in the factory. But in order to build the revolutionary movement there, we must organize all Party members working in one factory into a Shop Unit. The main difference between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party form of organization is that the Socialist Party organizations (branches) are built on the basis of bourgeois election wards and districts while the Communist Party is built on the basis of the place of employment. Party members who work in the same shop cannot belong to different Street Units. If such forms of organization were permitted, Party members work-

ing in the same factory and not knowing each other, would carry on their Party work in an anarchistic way. Each one individually would try to give leadership to the other workers.

The first step, therefore, in building the Unit in a factory *is to find who the Party members are.* This can be done by checking the membership registration or by getting information from the fraction of the union. If we find three or more members, a Shop Unit should immediately be organized.

Since the most effective work of the Party is inside the factory, it is necessary to find ways and means whereby developed Party members can get a job in a given factory, and in this way to start building the Party there.

The Street and Town Units have many members who are working in big factories. These single members should know that their main task is to build the Party inside the factory. But it is not sufficient to assign this basic task to these members. Their Street Units must help them politically and organizationally (forces from outside, shop papers, *Daily Worker* distribution from outside, finances, etc.). There are many good examples in our Party which prove that with proper help, one member in a big factory can recruit two, three or more members for the Party in two or three weeks, and organize a Shop Unit.

There are thousands of very close sympathizers, readers of our press (*Daily Worker* or the language papers), members of the unions and various fraternal and cultural organizations, who are working in important factories. Conscientious effort will help us to recruit them into the Party and thus build Shop Units.

CONCENTRATION

Besides these organizational measures, there are

various other effective methods for organizing and strengthening the Shop Units. The best method is the *concentration* of our best forces around a factory. This concentration work consists of systematic mass agitation and propaganda among the workers in the selected factory through distribution of the *Daily Worker*, Party pamphlets, and other literature at the factory gates or at the workers' homes, combined with the holding of shop-gate meetings. This mass agitation will help prepare the ground for the carrying on of successful work by our members inside the factory.

A Shop Unit consisting of three members can be strengthened by adding one or two of the best, most developed, most reliable comrades from the Street or Town Unit. These comrades, as regular members of the Shop Unit, help in working out policies and making decisions for activity in the factory. They help the Shop Unit keep connection with the Section Committee, and help guide and participate in the mass work outside of the factory. It is absolutely essential that *outside* members (from Street Units) be always in the *minority* in the Shop Unit.

WHAT IS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR THE ORGANIZATIONAL FORM OF A SHOP UNIT?

The form of Party organization in the factory, shop, mine, dock, etc., is determined by two factors, which are very closely linked to each other:

1. That organizational form which will make the Party Unit the most effective leader of the workers; and

2. That organizational form which will best safeguard the Party members and the other militant workers from the bosses' stool-pigeons and thugs.

The organizational form must be such that it becomes possible for the Unit to do mass work and at

the same time prevent, so far as possible, the exposure of the members, the discharge and blacklisting of sympathetic and active non-Party workers, and the exposure of militant union members.

The smaller the number of members who come together regularly, the smaller is the danger of exposure. The Shop Unit which grows to over 10-12 members should be divided into two independent working groups as quickly as possible. When we find it necessary to split a Shop Unit, the first question which should be considered is: Is it possible to organize a Unit in another department from among the Unit members? If there are three members in the Unit who work in the same department, a Unit in that department should be organized. If there are not enough members in one department, Party members working on several floors or in the same building should be organized in one Unit.

If a departmental Unit group is so big that it is too cumbersome for effective work, the department Unit should be divided into smaller groups on the basis of Party members working near each other in the department. The Shop Unit may also consider organizing Units on the basis of shifts. In this form of organization, the decisive factor will be whether the members on one shift are continually together in the same work group, and whether the changing of shift would not mean changing the composition of the members in the same group.

The best way to build an effective Party Unit in one factory is to concentrate on the most important, so-called "key" department or departments.

The Leading Bodies in the Factory

As the Party grows in one factory, the question arises: How will the work be coordinated? What body gives leadership for the whole factory? In order to make this problem clear, we will compare a

factory in which we have many Units, with a Party Section. In the Section, the various units, as already stated, come to a Convention and elect their leadership, the Section Committee, which leads the work of the whole Section between Conventions. Because of the special conditions in a factory (spies, stool pigeons, etc.), it is inadvisable to bring all members together at one meeting. Therefore the best form of organization is the delegate conferences of the Units.

The Units in the various departments and shifts elect their representatives, according to the size and importance of the Unit, to a conference, where these delegates elect the leading body of the Party organization: the factory Unit Bureau. This Bureau works in the same way as a Section Committee. It has the right to make decisions for the whole body (Party organization), in the factory. These decisions are binding for each department and shift Unit and for each individual member in the factory. The factory Unit Bureau is responsible for all its decisions and actions to the delegate conference, which is the highest body in the factory.

SAFEGUARDING THE UNITS

In order to coordinate the work of the various department units, the Bureau regularly meets with the department Unit Organizers, receiving reports about the activity of the department Units, and guides them in their work. It is necessary to emphasize again that in order to avoid the danger of spies, the factory Unit Bureau should not bring all department Unit Organizers to one meeting. The best method is to meet with the individual organizers separately.

There is need for continuous exchange of experiences between the various department Units. Therefore, it is necessary to call delegates to conferences as often as possible, and at least once a month.

The department and shift Units meet regularly

every week and have their independent life. They elect their own Bureau, work out plans and activity in the department, discuss Party problems, etc., in the same manner as any other independent Unit of the Party. There is no need to point out that the factory Unit Bureau is constantly in touch with the Section Committee and receives guidance and directives from this body.

WHAT ARE THE FRACTIONS IN THE FACTORY, AND WHAT ARE THEIR RELATIONS TO THE FACTORY UNIT?

It must be emphasized again that the factory Unit, or, in big factories, the conferences of the delegates of the Units, is the deciding Party organization in the factory. It is responsible for all activity of all individual Party members in the factory. Its decisions are final on every question and only the higher Party Committees—the Section Committee, the District Committee, and the Central Committee, have the right to overrule them. It is necessary to emphasize this fact in order to clarify the relation between the Party organization in the factory and the leading fraction of the union which has members in the factory.

To further clarify this problem, let us take an example. In one city there are a number of steel factories. The steel union has members in all these factories. This union has a leading fraction on a city-wide scale. This leading fraction has no right to make decisions for any given factory over the head of the Party organization in this factory. In order to coordinate the work of the Units in the various factories, the Section or District Committee assigns one member of the leading fraction to each factory as a regular member of the factory Unit. They discuss the problems of the industry generally with the Units and they guide them in their work.

but they have no right to hand down decisions for the Unit. The decisions in this factory are made by the Unit itself.

FRACTION INSIDE FACTORY

Now, let us see how the fractions *inside* the factory are functioning. If there is only one union in the factory, we face the following problem:

Every member of the Party is or should be a member of the union. In other words, the Party Unit is at the same time the Party fraction in the local union of their factory. In this case there is no need for special fraction activities by the Party Unit as a whole. But even in this case we will have fractions. How? In the factory there are various committees elected by the members of the union (grievance committees, department committees, factory committees, etc.). These committees are elected by the workers in the factory. If the members of the Communist Party are active, are good fighters, and are recognized as such by the workers, we will have Party members on every committee. For example: The workers in the factory elect a factory or shop committee of fifteen. Out of this number, five are Party members. These five Party members compose the fraction of the committee, and they are responsible for all their activities in the committee to the factory Unit or delegate conference.

In factories where there is more than one union (craft unions), the Party members belonging to each craft union compose the fraction in that craft union. These Party members, as the fraction, are responsible for all their activities to the factory Unit or delegate conference.

Let us assume that in a factory there are other organizations, besides unions, such as a sports club, etc. The factory Unit appoints comrades to join these organizations and these comrades compose the frac-

tion of the given organization and work under the direction of the factory Unit.

WHAT IS THE POLITICAL TASK OF THE SHOP UNIT?

The answer to this question may be divided into two parts: First, participation in working out the policy of the Party, and second, the application of this policy in the daily work (mass work) of the factory Unit.

The factory Units have not only the right, but it is their Communist duty to participate in formulating the general policy of the Party. *How is this task performed?* The policy of the Party is decided at the Convention in the form of adopted resolutions. These resolutions are prepared for discussion by the Central Committee. The draft (proposed) resolution is published in the Party press or in pamphlet form at least two months before the date of the Convention. The Unit membership organizes a thorough discussion on these draft resolutions. At the end of these discussions the Unit votes on this resolution, either adopting it as is, or making amendments as it thinks necessary.

The Unit always has the right to make proposals to the Section, District, or Central Committee as to the points on the order of business of the Convention as well as to suggest amendments to the draft resolutions. These amendments and proposals are presented to the Convention by the delegates. The delegates at the Convention, after discussing the resolution and the amendments, vote on them.

The delegates who bring up amendments cannot be *instructed* by their organizations to vote under all circumstances for these amendments. If a delegate, at the Convention, after his amendment is discussed, becomes convinced that the amendment is

incorrect, he will vote as a good Communist against the proposals which he introduced.

After the Convention, the delegates report to their Units. The Unit discusses the report and works out the details for applying the resolutions to the concrete situations before them.

The Shop Unit should discuss and express its opinion on all important political problems and tasks of the Party. In this discussion the members of the Nuclei should report the reaction of the workers with whom they are in contact (A. F. of L., Socialists, non-party, etc.), to the given issue. This discussion will help also the Section, District, and Central Committees to formulate correct slogans, to prepare proper actions, to react quickly and correctly to every happening, to all changes of the political life of the community, to work out a correct tactical line.

BRING PARTY CAMPAIGNS INTO THE FACTORY

The Units should participate in all campaigns and actions of the Party, that is, bring them into the factory. In order to be able to carry on this very important work, the Shop Units must develop their own initiative, and must be well acquainted with the general line of the Party. Otherwise, they will not be able to apply the line of the Party in their work in the factory.

It is especially important to understand how to carry on work during election campaigns. The Shop Units can counteract all the demagogy of the capitalist parties if concrete problems of the factory workers are used in exposing the programs of capitalist parties. The Units then can easily show the workers that only the Communists represent and fight for their interests.

The general task of the Party is to win over the majority of the working class for its program. To achieve this aim, the Shop Units must become the

recognized leaders of the workers in the factories. In order to win the confidence of these workers, the Shop Units must react quickly on all issues. A Shop Unit must utilize the attacks of the bosses on their working conditions for agitation and organization, for the counter-offensive for higher wages, better working conditions, etc.

At the same time the Shop Unit must show the workers how, in their fight for their daily bread, they come up against the close connections between their bosses and the city, state and federal government, the political representative of the boss class. The Units conduct struggles for the daily demands of the workers in the shop, for social and unemployment insurance, against taxation of small incomes, against sales taxes, for better housing, lower rents, etc.

ANSWER THE WORKERS' QUESTIONS

In order to win the confidence of the workers, the Unit must be able to give a correct answer to every question which bothers the workers. However, this is possible only if the Unit systematically gathers as much material about the given situation as possible. With the help of the Section Committee, the Unit should equip itself with material about the profits of a company, *e.g.*, the dividends paid out to the coupon clippers, the income of the bosses, how they live (house, apartment), how many servants and automobiles they have, and their political connections with the city, state and federal government. If a Unit is armed with such important material, it will be easier for it to bring these facts to the attention of the workers, in connection with their grievances, through shop paper, leaflet and *Daily Worker*.

The Shop Units must convince the workers of the necessity for organizing unions, of the necessity for united struggle for better conditions, for freedom of organization (union recognition), for equal rights

for Negroes, against police terror, against the factory spy system, against war and fascism, against lynching of Negroes, for the freedom of class war prisoners.

The Shop Units should mobilize the workers by continuous agitation for international solidarity actions (support of the struggles of colonial peoples; against fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, etc.; for the defense of the Soviet Union) and should contrast the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union with those in the given factory and neighborhood.

The Units must follow very carefully every step that is taken by the capitalist class in the city and county councils, state legislatures and Congress, and expose all their moves through leaflets, shop papers, and the Party press. This should always be done by starting out with the concrete problems of the workers in the given factory and neighborhood and bringing forward the slogans of the Party suited to the situation.

By bringing forward continuously the political problems of the workers, the Shop Units increase the general political understanding of the workers, increase their class consciousness and bring them into working class political activity.

In this way the circle of sympathizers will constantly broaden, the basis for recruiting new merbers into the Party will be established and thus increase its influence.

WHAT ARE THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE SHOP UNIT?

The main organizational task of the Shop Unit is to establish strong connections with all the workers in the factory. Thus the workers can be mobilized for quick action when the need arises. In order to achieve this aim, the factory Unit must throw all

its energy into building the union in the factory and in organizing united front actions for the various campaigns of the Party (against war and fascism, election campaign, May First, etc.), and on the concrete issues in the factory (grievances, speed-up, wages, freedom of organization). In this organizational activity of the factory Unit, we must pay special attention to the problems of the Negro workers in the factory, because of the special form of exploitation they are subjected to and because they are discriminated against on the job. A special approach and methods should also be worked out to organize the women and the young workers in the factory. Every Shop Unit has the task of building as well as strengthening the Y.C.L. Unit in the factory.

The other organizational tasks of the factory Unit are the following: (1) To control and check whether the general decisions of the membership meeting and the concrete assignments are carried out by every member of the Unit. (2) To control the membership dues. (3) To get finances for the work of the Unit. (4) To see whether the members of the Unit are members of the union; to see whether Party members in the union and other mass organizations work regularly in the Party fractions. (5) To keep in constant touch with all sympathizers. (6) to distribute literature and to sell the *Daily Worker* every day. (7) To establish and carefully guard the printing apparatus which publishes papers and leaflets. (8) To find specific methods for detecting and exposing stool pigeons. (9) And last but not least, constantly to recruit new members into the Party.

SHOP PAPERS

The *shop paper*, the organ of the Communist Party Unit in a given factory, mine, dock, ship, office, etc., *is the most effective instrument in the hand of the Unit for agitation and organization.*

In every shop where we have a Unit, the shop paper should be issued regularly. In shops where there is no Unit as yet, but there are one or two Party members, the issuance of a shop paper will be a great help in building the Party Unit.

Who Is Responsible for the Shop Paper?

The Shop Unit is responsible for the paper. That does not mean that the Street Unit which helps the Shop Unit from the outside has no responsibility. On the contrary, the comrades should consider it their duty to help the Shop Unit not only in distributing, but also in producing the paper. Especially at the beginning, the printing, financial help and distribution of the paper will be on the shoulders of the Section Committee or concentration Unit. It should be understood, however, that the policy of the paper, the text of the articles, etc., is decided upon by the Shop Unit and not by the concentration Unit. From the very beginning the Shop Unit members should be trained by the Section Committee to edit and produce the paper themselves. Every Shop Unit should be equipped with a machine for printing its paper. The Section Committee should continuously aid the Shop Unit in this and all other needs.

Who Edits the Shop Paper?

The shop paper is edited by a committee elected by the Shop Unit. But we must keep one very important matter in mind. The shop paper as a Party organ is the paper of *all* the workers in the given shop, mine, etc. Therefore, it is essential to interest the best non-party workers in the actual editing of the paper. The larger the number of workers who take part in editing the shop paper, the more effective weapon will it be, and the closer will these non-

party workers be drawn to the Party. Scores of workers should be induced to write articles for the paper. We must make every worker feel that the shop paper is his. The higher committees must give the utmost help in educating members for editing shop papers.

Who Finances the Shop Paper?

The Shop Unit finances the paper by getting the greatest possible number of workers in the factory to buy and otherwise support the paper. If the paper is good, raises the basic issues confronting workers, explains them well, and gives correct advice to the workers as to what to do about them, the workers will support it. A paper which has *no* financial support inside the factory will find it hard to keep going. We must bear in mind that under certain conditions (as in Germany today) it will be quite difficult to get money for the shop paper from the outside. It will have to be supported by the workers themselves *inside* of the factory. This financial basis must be prepared *now*—today—by the Shop Unit (donations, subs, sale of paper, etc.).

The workers in Germany provide splendid examples of financing shop papers. There, under the most difficult conditions of terror, workers in the shop find ways and means of supporting their paper. For example, they leave their contribution for the paper either on the bench of the comrade who they think is a Communist, or in many cases put this contribution in the pocket of the comrade or leave it on their own bench, where the comrade can pick it up.

Who Distributes the Paper?

The most effective distribution of a shop paper is from the inside. Each Shop Unit, each individual member, should use the experiences of other Units and of other Communist Parties in methods of dis-

tribution. We realize how difficult it is in Hitler Germany to distribute shop papers and leaflets. In spite of this the Shop Units *do* distribute them. Members of the Shop Units will find thousands of ways of bringing the shop paper into the factory if we properly explain the importance of doing so. The shop paper could and should be distributed from outside also (Street Unit), but it must be emphasized that the workers will react more favorably to the paper if they get it from the inside, if they know that the paper is given to them by one who may be working in their department. The workers will have great respect for a Party which is skilled enough to spread the paper inside, in spite of the strenuous effort of the boss to keep it out. Besides this, we know that there will be a time when it will be more difficult to distribute Party material at the shop gate than inside the factory. We have to train ourselves, train our forces, *inside* the factories, *today*, for this work. The shop paper is and will be the most important link between the masses and the Party.

There is no need to emphasize that the printing, editing, financing and distribution of the shop paper must be organized in such a way that the company, through its stool pigeons, will not know what workers are involved.

WHAT IS THE STREET UNIT?

The Street Unit is the Party organization in the neighborhood.

The Street Unit is composed of those Party members who live in a certain territory, and cannot belong to a Shop Unit. (Housewives, professionals, small store-keepers, unemployed workers who are out of the shop for a long period and, for the time being, employed workers who have not as yet organized Shop Units.)

WHAT IS THE TOWN UNIT?

The Town Unit is the Party organization in a small town.

The Town Unit is composed of all those Party members in a given town who cannot belong to a Shop Unit and where there are not enough members to form Street Units.

WHAT ARE THE POLITICAL TASKS OF THE STREET AND TOWN UNITS?

The basic task of the Street Unit is to win over the majority of the working class in the neighborhood to the fight for the active support of the revolutionary struggles, and to make them conscious followers of the Communist Party.

In order to achieve this basic task the Street Unit must first of all concentrate on organizing and leading the struggle for unemployment relief and social insurance. In the daily work of the Street or Town Unit, we must always keep in mind that the Unit, *as the Party in the territory*, must win the confidence of the masses, must become the leader of the workers of the given street, district or town.

A Party Street Unit which is not involved in mass work, which does not organize and lead the struggles in the neighborhood, cannot become the leader of the proletarian masses. Patient, continuous, systematic work of the Unit among the workers in the neighborhood will bring results. The Unit must react to every issue which affects the workers. The problems of unemployment (relief, insurance); the high cost of living (high rent, high food prices, high electricity and gas rates, etc.); sanitary conditions (on the street, in the homes, in schools); free lunch, clothing for the children; the various taxes on necessities (sales tax, tax on small incomes, etc.); civil rights (free speech, assembly, press); police brutal-

ity; injunctions, and many other problems which harass the workers are the problems which the Street and Town Units must tackle.

The Unit which knows these problems, which quickly reacts to all these issues and brings forward the proper slogans for action, will succeed in gathering around itself the working masses in the neighborhood. The unemployed organizations will grow, our fractions in the different workers' organizations will be strengthened, and the Unit will become the established and trusted leader of the workers in the street or town.

Must Be Known as Fighters

In order to gain these results, the Unit as a whole and every individual member of the Unit should be known by the workers in the street or town as fearless fighters in the interests of the working class. In the daily work of the Unit we should systematically gather all relevant information about the workers and other sections of the population in the street or town. We should know who is who; we should know not only those workers who voluntarily gather around the activities of the Party organization, but those who are inclined to be sympathetic as well as those poisoned by the capitalist propaganda of the enemies of the working class and by the counter-revolutionary Trotsky renegades. We should know those workers who are in the Socialist Party and other organizations led and influenced by reformist and reactionary leaders.

A Street or Town Unit acquainted with the individuals in its territory could formulate the correct, most compelling slogans and actions for the mobilization of the masses. Such a Unit would not have any great difficulties in taking its part in an election campaign, or any other campaign of the Party. In the election campaign, the Unit should be able to

enlist all the sympathetic elements in the territory. A Unit should know in advance who will vote Communist, and who is inclined to vote for the bourgeois parties, and should adjust its activities accordingly —not only in the mass campaigns, but also in personal contacts.

If the workers know, through the Unit's activity, how bravely and uncompromisingly the Party fights for the interest of the workers, and if at the same time the Unit can convince the workers of the anti-working class role of the other parties—such a Unit can gain tremendous influence and a large vote during election campaigns. Such a Unit carrying on daily mass work (street meetings, house-to-house canvassing, distribution of leaflets, mass meetings, distribution of the *Daily Worker*, publication of a neighborhood paper, etc.), during the election campaign, will show results, not only in the number of votes cast for the Party, but in gaining better conditions for the workers and new recruits for the Party, as well as new readers for the *Daily Worker*.

Aids Shop Unit

Another important task of the Street and Town Unit is to help the Shop Units in its territory or near to it, in their daily work. The well-organized assistance of a Street or Town Unit to a Shop Unit can greatly increase the possibilities of building organization inside the factories. If there are not many forces in the Street Unit this assistance can be limited to one or two things: for example, systematic sale of the *Daily Worker* in front of the factory; or systematic holding of shop-gate meetings; distribution of leaflets or shop papers from the outside. The Street Unit can also help the Shop Unit do open work around the factory, in the street-car and bus stations, etc., etc.

The Street Unit must not adopt a patronizing atti-

tude toward the Shop Unit. It cannot make any decisions for the Factory Unit. It must help from the outside in a manner determined by the Shop Unit.

Finally, a Street Unit or Town Unit should concentrate on a large factory in its territory. The concentration point, if there is more than one factory in the territory, should be decided upon in consultation with the Section Committee. The best method of organizing the work around the concentration factory is to set up a special concentration group from among the members of the Unit. This group should be composed of members who volunteer to carry out this very important task and at the same time have the necessary qualifications for the work.

It should be understood that after the group is set up on a *voluntary* basis, the carrying out of the work is *compulsory*. The Unit, as a whole, regularly discusses and controls the activities of this concentration group. This work needs patient, systematic daily attention by the whole Unit and also by the higher committees of the Party. The Street Unit supports actively and takes part in the strike struggles of the factory workers, and also mobilizes the neighborhood for support, furnishing reserves for the picket lines, conducting demonstrations, collecting strike relief, etc.

Must Aid Members Working in Factories

We have listed the general tasks of the Unit in the street or town. All these tasks cannot always be taken care of by every Unit. Some of the Units will be able to tackle and carry out all of these tasks, and some of them only a part of them. We wish to emphasize again the need for systematic help and guidance for those members of the Units who are working in factories but who belong to the Street

Units because there is no Shop Unit in their place of employment. These members should get continuous political organizational and financial help in building the Unit in their factory. With proper work, the Street or Town Units will be able to transfer all those members who are working in a shop, mine, office, etc., to their respective Shop Unit.

The fact that the member of a Street Unit works in a factory far from the Unit territory does not exclude the possibility of help from the Unit. This member should be encouraged to raise the problems of the factory at the Unit Bureau or Unit membership meeting, where, after a thorough discussion, steps should be taken to build the Party in the factory. It would be of help to issue a leaflet in the shop which could be distributed by one or two unemployed members in front of his factory.

Is it difficult for a Party member to get two or three more workers in his factory to join the Party in a period of two or three weeks if he is constantly helped and guided? We do not think so.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE STREET AND TOWN UNITS

The organizational tasks of the Street and Town Units are in the main the same as those of the Factory Units. However, these organizations must consider the special problem of building unemployment organizations, of building fractions in all workers' organizations in their territory, of building united fronts with these organizations on concrete issues.

The Street Unit in a Negro neighborhood, especially if the Unit is composed of a large majority of Negro Party comrades, must remember that a vital task of the Party is to establish strong bonds with the broadest masses. In Negro neighborhoods this can be done best by penetrating the Negro organ-

izations: churches, fraternal organizations, societies, etc. In order to carry out this task it is essential that every member of a Street Unit in the Negro territory be a member of a Negro organization. The best solution to this problem is for the majority of a Unit to join one such organization—the most important and biggest Negro organization in the territory. The Party members in these organizations will work as a fraction under the guidance of the Street Unit. It is understood, however, that Street Units will not give up the work in the neighborhood generally while the main attention is directed towards the work in the organizations where the Party members belong.

WHAT IS A FARM UNIT?

The Farm Unit is the basic Party organization in the rural sections of the country. We have two kinds of Farm Units: (1) Farm Units in big farms composed of agricultural workers. These Units have the same standing in the Party as the factory units; (2) Farm Units composed of farm hands, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and small farmers in a given territory.

There is no need here for dwelling on the necessity of Communist work among the toiling rural population. The question of allies of the proletarian revolution, of winning over the poor farmers and broad sections of the middle farmers to the side of the proletarian revolution, and of neutralizing other sections of the middle farmers as an important factor in a successful revolution, can be answered in our favor only if we succeed in building a strong Party organization on the big "industrial" farms, among the agricultural workers, and also among the poor, small farmers, tenants, sharecroppers, etc.

The main task of the Party in its work in the countryside consists first of all in the organization of the agricultural workers in the Party and trade

unions, in organizing and leading strikes of these terribly exploited workers who play an important role in the development of the revolutionary agrarian movement.

The general task of the Farm Unit is about the same as that of other Units of the Party. The issues they deal with, however, are entirely different. Here the issues are mortgages, interest rates, high taxes, roads, schools, low prices of farm products, high railroad rates, relief, etc., problems which the Farm Unit must tackle. The Communist Party in the countryside is in the forefront in fighting for the interests of the exploited and poverty-stricken rural population, against the big landlords, commission houses, mortgage companies, farm implement trusts, grain trusts, railroad companies, milk trusts, banks, etc. In this fight, the masses of the countryside will inevitably come into conflict with the suppressive machinery of the bourgeoisie (city, state, federal government, National Guard, courts, etc.).

The Communist Party has to show to these vast masses the role of this whole suppressive set-up, the necessity of fighting against it, and the only road which leads out of the misery created for them by capitalism—the road to Soviet Power. In these fights, the poor rural population will learn through their own experiences and by the work of the Communist Party that their place is on the side of the proletariat.

We have to work untiringly in the existing farm organizations in order to isolate the rich farmers, to win the poor farmers, and sections of the middle farmers to the side of the workers, and at least to neutralize other sections of the middle farmers.

HOW IS A UNIT MEETING PREPARED?

The Unit Bureau on the basis of the general directives of the Party (Central, District or Section Committees), prepares the agenda and proposals for the

Unit meeting, and the activity for the coming week. In other words, it adapts the general campaign of the Party to the given situation in the shop or territory.

The Unit Bureau presents these well-prepared proposals to the Unit membership meeting, with a thorough explanation by one member of the Unit Bureau.

Are the plans or policies presented by the Unit Bureaus binding on the membership? No. The membership discusses the report of the Unit Bureau and decides the policy or activity by a majority vote, accepting, amending, or rejecting the proposals of the Unit Bureau.

HOW SHOULD A UNIT AGENDA (ORDER OF BUSINESS) BE DRAWN UP?

The first point should always be a well-prepared discussion on a certain actual political problem. For example: The city administration wants to put through a sales tax. The reporter assigned by the Unit membership or Unit Bureau should be given sufficient time to prepare this report—the meaning of the sales tax, how it will affect the workers in general, and in the shop or territory where the Unit is working in particular. Then he gives concrete proposals as to how to mobilize the workers to fight against the sales-tax proposal. In order to have a more effective discussion in the Unit, it is necessary not only to assign one comrade to prepare the report, but also to supply material for all members of the Unit on the subject at least one week in advance. A well-organized, well-prepared discussion should not last longer than from one to one and a half hours.

The next point on the agenda should be the check-up of the assignments of the individual members. The Unit membership as a whole should always

know not only whether a comrade carries out his assignment, but also should discuss the experiences of the individual comrades in carrying out assignments.

The next point should be the plan of activity for the next week, with a proper evaluation of the work of the past week. This point also takes care of the assignments of tasks to the individual comrades. In discussing this point the problem of recruiting must be raised. How many members were recruited, and by whom as a result of last week's activities, and how many and through what activities do we intend to recruit next week?

The next point could be the problems of the unions or mas organizations in which the Unit is working.

The next point should be the problem of the *Daily Worker* (distribution, correspondence, routes, building circulation, etc.).

Literature

Literature distribution is a basic part of every activity of the Unit. This question should therefore be taken up in connection with every item on the agenda. For example if the Unit prepares a political discussion for the next Unit meeting, the question of literature with which our comrades can properly prepare themselves must be brought up then and there. If the question is one of organizing a campaign of the Party, work in the shops, trade unions, mass organizations, house-to-house canvassing, or a street or mass meeting, the distribution of suitable literature must receive its rightful place in the discussion of the problem and in the assignments given to the comrades. The check-up of the assignments of the individual members must also include a check-up on the method of selling the literature, how much was sold, how it was received by the workers, what questions they raised about our Party

policy, and what further literature is needed in order to clarify these workers on the questions raised. In order to save time in the Unit meeting, the actual obtaining of the literature by the unit members for use in their assignments may be placed on the agenda just before the close of the meeting, but the mobilization and assignments on this work must be made in connection with every question on the agenda.

Dues Payments

The dues payment should take place before the meeting opens, as the comrades come in one by one to the meeting. A special period may be allowed during the meeting for dues payment if it is necessary. The Financial Secretary should report to every Unit Bureau meeting about the dues payment and the Unit Bureau should prepare a report on this problem at least once a month for the Unit membership meetings.

If the points on the agenda are well prepared, and the proposals are concrete, a Unit meeting could easily be finished in no more than two and a half hours.

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of starting the meeting on time, and not to wait for one or two comrades who may come a little later.

HOW OFTEN SHOULD THE UNIT MEET?

Only in exceptional cases, when it is impossible to bring together the members every week, should we make exceptions from the rule of one meeting per week for each Unit.

Every member of the Unit knows a week in advance where the next meeting will be held. Members who are not present at the meeting must be notified through the group system.

WHAT IS THE GROUP SYSTEM?

This is the division of the membership of the Unit into small groups on the basis of the residence of the members. For example: A Street Unit has a territory of a number of blocks or a small town. The Unit has 25 or 30 members living all over the small town or scattered over a number of blocks. The four or five comrades living nearest to each other are organized into one group, the next five or six comrades near to each other into another group. Thus we divide the unit into six to eight groups.

The best developed comrade in the group is the group captain or leader.

The group captain is not elected. He is appointed by the Unit Bureau.

What Is the Task of the Group Captain?

To keep his group together. To see to it that every member in his group attends Unit meetings. If one fails to appear he must find out the reason. He must collect dues from and bring assignments to those who cannot come to the Unit meeting.

Should the Unit Bureau Consist of the Group Captains?

No. The Unit Bureau consists of the best developed comrades in the Unit, even if they live in the same block or neighborhood and belong to the same group. The group leaders must be selected from among the members of the group. In case of a Unit Bureau consisting of three members, each of whom lives in a different part of the Unit territory, and belong to different groups, they may each be a leader of their group.

Have Groups Any Independent Function in the Unit?

No. They are organized for the purpose of keeping the membership together and making it easier

quickly to mobilize the Party—and the mass organizations as well, through the Party members in them.

WHY ARE MEMBERS OVERBURDENED WITH WORK AND HOW CAN WE CHANGE THE SITUATION?

Generally in our Party Units the members work to such an extent that they have very little time for reading and recreation. The main reason for this overburdening of our members is that the details of every campaign, action, activity, are carried out by the Party members and Party members only. At the same time we have exceptional cases in some Units where certain members of the Party, because of their lack of understanding of the political problems, are not as active as the others, and the Unit is forced to throw more and more work on the other members of the Unit. To change this situation, which in many cases results in losing members from the Party, we have to find ways and means of distributing the work equally, not only among Party members, but also among sympathizers around the Party Units in the shop or street.

If every Party member were assigned to persuade and enlist five or six workers in the shop or neighborhood to help him carry out his tasks, many burning organizational problems would be on the way to solution. This would bring us more results, more prospective Party members from among these active workers and would develop every Party member as an organizer for certain activities of the workers.

Why can't we, in canvassing houses for signatures in the election campaign or for selling literature or soliciting subs for the *Daily Worker*, or collecting money for the *Daily Worker*, or in some other campaign, draw in the sympathetic workers? Why shouldn't we give them responsibility if they are willing to take it? And they are. Why shouldn't

we trust them with literature, *Daily Worker* money? Why shouldn't the Shop Units enlist sympathetic workers to help edit, print, finance and distribute the shop paper? The activities of the Party would be increased manifold. The burden now carried by the Party members would be distributed among more workers, leaving more time for study, reading, making friends, and carrying on personal agitation.

How Can the Street Units Utilize Members Active in Mass Organizations?

By exchanging the experiences of these comrades through regular discussions of their activities in the mass organizations at the Unit meeting. That means that members who belong to mass organizations must systematically report to the Unit Bureau or to the Unit meeting about their work: How they bring the various political campaigns of the Party into their mass organizations; about their experiences in recruiting members for the Party; in getting subs for the *Daily Worker;* in strengthening the influence of the Party by organizing and leading struggles of the members of the unions, Unemployment Councils, I.L.D., or other mass organizations.

If the Unit regularly hears the reports of these active members, the membership will learn from the experiences of these members: they will be helped to solve their own problems, while at the same time continuously checking on the activities of the members.

How Should We Involve These Members in the Work of the Unit in the Territory?

We must realize and recognize the fact that the work of the comrades in the mass organizations is very important. Therefore the Unit should not demand that they take Unit assignments in the same proportion as those members who are not active in

the mass organizations. But we should expect all of these comrades to act as Communists in the territory where they live; make friends in their free time among their neighbors; surround themselves with sympathizers and in this way help the Unit get connections with more workers in the territory. An active member of a union or other mass organization cannot excuse his negligence or failure to act as a Communist in the house or territory where he lives.

WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE UNIT BUREAU?

To prepare proposals for activities, policy, etc., for the Unit meetings; to organize the membership to carry out the decisions of the Unit meeting; to control the carrying out of the decisions; to show the members of the Unit in the daily work how to carry out decisions, by participating, organizing and leading the workers in the daily struggles, in the campaigns, etc.; to see that the Unit members join and are active in unions and other mass organizations, and in their fractions; to see if the members are in good standing; to prepare all necessary information about the new applicants (recruits) for the Unit meeting; to build up systematically a financial income other than that from dues; to watch carefully the development of each member and train and promote promising ones—supplying them with proper literature, sending them to Party schools, proposing them for work in the commissions of the higher Party committees, etc.

HOW TO ORGANIZE THE MEMBERSHIP FOR CARRYING OUT DECISIONS

First of all every important decision must come only after a thorough discussion in the Unit. If the Unit members understand why certain steps must be taken by the Party, what the facts in a given situation are which demand the outlined policy,

what the perspectives of the Party are regarding this action (what we intend to achieve) then the organization and mobilization of the members for the carrying out of the decision will be much easier.

But in assigning members to certain work, the Unit Bureau must know everything about the members; consideration must be given, among other things, to what union or mass organization this or that member belongs, what assignments or posts he has there, his (or her) personal life (housewife, children, etc.), ability, desire for certain tasks, how long in the Party, etc.

If we know the members, and the members know the problems and the tasks of the Unit, then the Unit Bureau will not have much trouble in organizing the work. This can be done in the following way: The Unit Bureau, in preparing the proposals for activities, also prepares proposals for the assignment of the individual members. The Bureau brings these proposals to the meeting, where the decision is made. The member, before a decision is made, has the right to express his opinion about his ability, or state reasons why he couldn't or shouldn't be assigned to the given work. But after the Unit meeting decides on the assignment, he must carry it out. In better functioning Units, where the Unit Bureau is thoroughly acquainted with the members, there is no necessity for discussion on the individual assignment. The Bureau makes the assignment and if the individual member asks to be excused for one reason or another and the Bureau does not agree to release him, only then is the question taken up at the meeting. We should always have in mind that the most disillusioning effect on the new member is created by constant squabbling about assignments. Short, decisive reports on the division of work which take into account the situation and ability of each individual member will change the situation.

HOW TO ENSURE THE CARRYING OUT OF DECISIONS

The decisions and assignments are to be registered at the Unit meeting. At every meeting of the Unit Bureau all the decisions and assignments should be examined, and those not carried out should be noted. The facts should be reported to the Unit meeting. In this report the Unit Bureau sharply states the facts about the activities of the individuals in question, opening discussion on those members who shirk work. The open criticism will help the members take assignments more seriously. The members must learn from these discussions one important organizational principle of our Party, namely, that each individual member has the responsibility to build the mass movement of the toiling masses; to build the Communist Party, the vanguard of the proletariat.

THE *DAILY WORKER*—THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF THE UNITS FOR REACHING THE MASSES

One of the main and most important instruments of agitation and propaganda in the hands of the Party Units is the *Daily Worker*, the central organ of our Party. Those comrades who can influence the masses, who can win over the workers in one factory or a certain territory, have no chance of speaking personally and daily to the workers in thousands of factories, thousands of cities, thousands of streets. And even if these comrades do talk to the workers in a certain factory occasionally, they can deal with only one or two of the most burning questions. But the *Daily Worker*, the collective agitator and organizer of our Party and of the masses, speaks to its readers every day.

The best leaders of our Party speak to the workers through articles in the *Daily Worker*. The Central Committee speaks to the workers through

editorials. Comrades in the unions, worker correspondents from the factories and towns, tell the stories of their fight against capitalism. If we hand the *Daily Worker* to a worker, we get him in daily touch with the leadership of our Party, with the Central Committee, with the best, most experienced Communists. Is there any better instrument than the *Daily Worker* for reaching and winning the masses? No, there is not. Therefore, selling the *Daily Worker* in the neighborhood, and at the factory gates, getting subscribers and worker correspondents for it, is one of the most important duties of the Party organization.

WHAT IS THE METHOD OF DISTRIBUTING THE *DAILY WORKER?*

The workers in the big factories can be reached by selling the *Daily Worker* to them at the gate or inside the factory.

In the neighborhood (Street or Town Unit) the most effective method of getting new subscribers and buyers for the *Daily Worker* is through canvassing the homes of the workers. In order to make the reader interested in the *Daily Worker* at the beginning, we should get stories (worker correspondence) from the factories, neighborhood, town or city where the workers live, into the *Daily*. The territory to be covered should be limited to a couple of blocks. The worker and his family should be visited and told that sample copies of the *Daily Worker* will be left with them for a limited time; that they should read it, and if they like it, they should subscribe. The *Daily Worker* and the visit and talk of the canvassing comrades will make a good impression even if the worker does not subscribe. There should be no Street Unit, Town Unit, or Shop Unit of the Party without a good number of *Daily Worker* readers in the shop or territory.

WHAT IS THE NEIGHBORHOOD PAPER?

The neighborhood paper is the official organ of the Street or Town Unit, edited, printed (mimeographed) distributed (sold) in the Unit territory under the leadership of the Unit by the Party members and by sympathizers. The neighborhood paper should have the same role in the smaller territory that the *Daily Worker* has nationally. It is the agitator and organizer of the Party, dealing with the concrete problems of the population in the Unit territory, agitating and propagandizing the workers for our program, and organizing them. Simple language, neat appearance and pictures are necessary to make the neighborhood paper popular.

We should strive to issue the paper as often as possible, and build around it a large circle of active supporters (correspondents, distributors, financial supporters, etc.). We should consider the development of neighborhood papers as of the greatest importance. If, for the last few years, we had been issuing a paper in the territory of each Street and Town Unit, we would have today thousands and thousands of little Party papers all over the country, a larger Party, and a wider circle of supporters. If each neighborhood paper would be read by only 200 or 300 people we would have close to a million workers closely connected with the Party.

We have to bear in mind that under more suppressive conditions, when the printing and shipping of the *Daily Worker* will be made much more difficult by the class enemy, we must have these hundreds of thousands of Party papers systematically placed in the hands of the workers.

OUR AGITATIONAL AND PROPAGANDA LITERATURE—THEORY TO THE MASSES

In order to educate our Party membership and

the masses with whom we come in contact in our work, to combat the lies of the bourgeois press, books, radio, movies, etc., to expose and defeat the theories of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, the Lovestoneite renegades, and all the social-fascist and fascist demagogues and other agents of the bourgeoisie, our Party membership should study and spread as widely as possible among the masses the teachings of the great leaders of the revolutionary movement, as well as our current theoretical publications, and our agitational pamphlets on the every-day issues and problems which confront the masses.

The Party has made and is making available the most important works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in low-priced editions. There can be no sound revolutionary movement built without the distribution of this literature. This is why the importance of literature distribution is stressed so much by the Party.

The Communist, the theoretical organ of the Central Committee, and *The Communist International*, organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, should be read by all the Party members, and receive a broad sale among the masses. There should be no Party member who does not read the *Party Organizer*, the monthly organ of the Central Committee which takes up all the current organizational problems of the Party giving concrete experiences and directives to aid our Party members in their every-day work.

Besides the theoretical books, pamphlets and magazines, the Central Committee, District Committees, and in some places, the Section Committees issue pamphlets on vital, every-day problems facing the broad masses. These are called our agitational pamphlets because they deal with specific questions affecting the broadest masses. Effective mass work, bringing the highest degree of political and organ-

izational results, cannot be conducted without the distribution of this literature. Our Party literature will help to clarify the minds of the workers on the problems which face them, and will help bring them nearer to our Party. Without the broadest distribution of our Party literature the influence which our Party gains in its campaigns may soon give way in the minds of the workers to the influences of the bourgeois press, radio, movies, etc. Through distribution of our Party literature we can consolidate our influence and recruit thousands of new members for our Party.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIT ORGANIZER?

The Unit Organizer should be the most able, most politically developed member of the Unit. He is the political leader of the Unit. His duties are as follows:

1. As a political leader he directs all the work of the Unit.

a. He prepares the material for the Unit Bureau (agenda, proposals for action, assignments, etc.)

b. Helps the Agit-Prop Director in preparing material for discussion in the Unit on political problems; on the policy of the Party; on resolutions of the higher committees.

c. He must react immediately to any issue that arises in the factory or in the territory. If there is no time to wait for the next Bureau meeting, he must call together the members of the Unit Bureau and decide with them what action must be taken. If it is not possible to call the Bureau together, he must take responsibility for the action and notify the individual Party members of their tasks. Taking responsibility for an action is especially important in

a factory where the Unit Organizer faces great difficulties in calling meetings during working hours. In this case he acts independently, notifies the members and takes the responsibility at the next Unit meeting.

2. He is responsible for controlling the decisions of the Unit. He is the one who should carefully check on whether the assignments are carried out, and report his findings without hesitation to the Unit Bureau and the membership.

3. He sees to it that the group captains take care of their work.

4. He is responsible for developing new forces from the Unit.

5. He must be in constant touch with the Section Committee, to whom he reports on the activities of the Unit and from whom he receives directives. In order to be able to make proposals and formulate policies for the Unit, he must be an example to the members of the Unit of how a good Party member works among the masses.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE AGIT-PROP DIRECTOR?

He is the comrade on the Unit Bureau who is responsible for the agitational and propaganda work of the Unit. His functions are:

1. To carry out the decisions of the Unit Bureau concerning discussions in the Unit, by gathering material for the reporter selected by the Unit Bureau or membership meeting. He must also supply material for these discussions to the individual members of the Unit.

2. He is in charge of the Editorial Board of the shop paper or neighborhood paper. He is responsible for organizing open forums, workers' schools, etc., in the territory.

3. He is also responsible for agitation and propa-

ganda work not only *inside* the Party, but among the non-Party workers.

Does this mean that all of these tasks should be taken care of by the Agit-Prop Director alone? Of course not! A good Agit-Prop Director should be able to pick comrades in the Unit who will help him carry out these tasks.

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY?

He takes care of all the financial problems of the Unit. He checks on members' dues payments and reports to the Unit Bureau regularly on who is falling behind in dues and attendance. He takes steps, through the group captains, to see that these members are visited. He organizes special financial income for the Unit from sympathizers, individual contributors, various kinds of social affairs. He should establish a fund for the Unit through these various activities, a fund which will enable the Unit to be able to extend its mass agitation among the workers in the shop or territory.

He is responsible for the membership list of the Unit. This task puts great responsibility on the shoulders of the Financial Secretary. He has to see to it that this list is safeguarded properly so that agents of the class enemy do not get hold of it. The Financial Secretary has under his leadership the entire technical and business activities of the Unit.

We have to emphasize that all these problems have very *important political significance.* The assignment or election of a comrade to this post *must always be considered from this point of view.*

WHAT IS THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIT *DAILY WORKER* AGENT?

The *Daily Worker* agent should be one of the best

developed, most energetic members of the Unit. If he is not an elected member of the Unit Bureau, he should attend all Bureau meetings in order to make it possible for him to participate in making plans for the spreading of the *Daily Worker* in all activities of the Unit. The task of the Unit *Daily Worker* agent must be considered as an important political function. His tasks are:

1. To mobilize the membership of the Unit to sell the *Daily Worker* every day in the factory or in the territory.

2. To mobilize the sympathizers around the Unit and make them enthusiastic distributors of the *Daily Worker*.

3. He is responsible for organizing a group of *Daily Worker* Builders from among the members of the Unit and sympathizers of the Party in the shop or territory where the Unit is operating.

4. He should check up whether the individual members are getting new readers for the *Daily Worker* in the unions or other mass organizations where they belong.

5. He has the duty of seeing whether the members of the Unit read the *Daily Worker* every day.

6. He should see to it that the experiences of the individual members in selling the *Daily Worker* should be discussed from time to time at Unit meetings and in this way improve the method of work in this respect.

WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE UNIT LITERATURE DIRECTOR?

The Unit Literature Director is not merely an "agent" or "salesman" who sells literature to the Party members at the Unit meeting, or who covers street and mass meetings for the sale of literature among the workers; neither is his task merely one of being a "go-between" bringing literature from

Section Literature Department to the Unit meetings. Much of this work he must also do, but his tasks have a much broader aspect which we enumerate below:

1. To work in close collaboration with the Unit Bureau and the Unit Agit-Prop Director in planning the distribution of literature (what, where, when, how, how much, by whom).

2. To familiarize himself with our literature and be prepared to convince the Party members of the importance of reading and distributing each piece of literature.

3. To prepare the necessary literature at least a week beforehand for political discussions in the Units, and see to it that the Unit membership obtains same.

4. To check up and control that each Party member shall take out and sell literature in connection with his or her assignment, and establish regular distribution in his or her shop, trade union, or mass organization. To urge each member to mobilize workers and sympathizers to do likewise, and wherever possible establish a literature table or department officially in their organization. To mobilize also for sale of literature outside the shops particularly those in which we have no definite contact, at meetings of trade unions under reactionary leadership where we may not have organized contact inside, at opponent mass meetings, and at meetings of bourgeois-controlled fraternal, cultural, and religious organizations.

5. To check up and report on the reactions of workers to our literature and what literature is needed for their further clarification, and to become familiar with the conditions in the shops, organizations, neighborhoods, etc., and around what issues struggles could be developed and literature distributed. To see to it that all valuable experiences,

particularly in distribution of literature inside the shops and trade unions are written up for the Party press or district literature bulletin.

6. To take the initiative in organizing collections, raffles, etc., at Unit meetings and affairs through which funds can be raised for the building of a Unit library of our basic theoretical books.

7. To keep a strict account of the Unit literature funds; see to it that all literature is paid for promptly by the Unit members, and that all bills for literature are paid promptly and exactly to the Section each week.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIT LEADERSHIP

The resolutions and decisions of the Communist International, and the Central, District and Section Committees will remain on paper unless we have in the Units well-functioning, developed leadership which is able to mobilize the membership for carrying out these decisions. This mobilization will be successful only if the Unit leadership (Unit Bureau) is capable of clarifying all decisions to the membership. Only through political understanding can the membership be activized to apply the decisions of the Party committees in their daily work among the masses. We should always remember the emphasis stressed by the *Open Letter* in discussing this question:

"The center of gravity of Party work must be shifted to the development of the lower organizations, the factory nuclei, local organizations, and street nuclei." (*Open Letter*, pp. 20-21.)

In order to carry out this directive of the *Open Letter* we must strengthen and develop the leadership of the lower organizations. The main link of the masses to the Party is the Unit. If this link is faulty, if some of the links of the whole chain of

Party organization do not function properly, the Party will have either very weak or no connections with the masses. In order to strengthen this link we must have a strong leadership (Unit Bureau).

FLUCTUATION IN UNIT LEADERSHIP

The Unit Bureau is the leader of the Party and the masses among which the Unit operates. In order to have a strong, able leadership in the factory or in the neighborhood, we must elect the most able, capable comrades to the Unit Bureaus—comrades who grew up in the Party in struggles and who have been trained for leadership. To change the leadership in the Unit frequently is a sign of insufficient understanding of the role of the Unit Bureau. Many Party Units in our Party fail to develop mass activity, fail in influencing broad strata of the workers in the shop or neighborhood where they are operating because they change their leadership (Unit Bureau) too often. There should be a rule in the Unit that no Unit leader should be changed unless he is proved to be incapable of leading the Unit, or if he has developed so well that his promotion to a higher Party committee is on the order of the day. But even in that case, no comrade should be changed unless another comrade who is well developed can take his place. Stability in the Unit leadership is as important as it is in the Section, District, or Center.

The basis of electing any functionary in the Party is precisely defined in the *Open Letter*:

> "Every Party member and especially every Party functionary must be a real organizer of mass struggles in his particular sphere of work. From this standpoint the Party must judge the activity of its functionaries and must choose its leading bodies." (*Open Letter*, p. 23.)

THE SECTION COMMITTEE

Whether the Party Units fulfill their tasks

among the masses depends to a great extent on a well-functioning Section Committee. The daily guidance of the Unit Bureaus, especially of the Shop Units, is one of the principal tasks of the Section Committees. This should be achieved mainly through personal contact between the Section Committees and the Unit Bureaus. While the organizational letter can give general guidance to the work of the Units, it alone is not sufficient to develop the Unit Bureaus; in many cases it curbs the initiative of the Units. A Section Committee should use the following method of giving leadership to the Units:

1. Regular meetings of the various Unit functionaries should be held where, besides discussing politically the most outstanding tasks of the coming week, a well-prepared discussion is conducted on basic organizational and political problems of the Party. These discussions should take the form of a regular class where the role and organizational principles of the Party are studied. Through these weekly meetings we can develop, strengthen and stabilize the leadership in the Units.

2. The Section Committees should discuss the work of one of the Units at each meeting. This point should be prepared very carefully in conjunction with the Bureau of that Unit. The Section Committee, discussing the problem of the given Unit, gives concrete suggestions, proposals to correct mistakes and to overcome weaknesses.

SECTION ORGANIZER

The Section Organizer is the political leader of the Section, and is responsible for the entire Section. He is the leader not only of the Party organization in the territory of the Section, but also must be or become a leader of the masses in the territory where the Section is operating. In order to be able to give leadership to the Party and to the masses, the Sec-

tion Organizer must be in daily touch with the problems of the workers. He should be a member of the local union of his trade. In this way he strives to become the leader of the organized workers in that trade union. The Section Organizer has the task of preparing the agenda for the Section Bureau and Section Committee meetings, and he sees to it that the decisions adopted at these meetings are carried out by the Units of the Section. In order to be able to carry out this big task, other members of the Section Committee are made responsible for the various fields of activity of the Party. But the Section Organizer is responsible to the Section Committee also for the activity of these comrades. The work in the Section Committee is divided among the members of the Section Committee, around whom are built up the various commissions. In the Section Committees we have the following leading functionaries: Organizational Secretary, Agitational-Propaganda Director, head of Trade Union Commission, head of *Daily Worker* Committee, head of the Literature Committee, Financial Secretary, head of the Membership Committee.

INITIATIVE OF THE UNITS AND SECTIONS

From the foregoing we see how the Party is connected organizationally with the workers and their mass organizations. Let us sum up very briefly: The basic link between the Party and the decisive strata of the working class are the Units in the industries; the Street, Town and Farm Units in the territory and the fractions, particularly in the unions but also in other mass organizations.

These organizations are the ones through which the Party leads the masses in the place of employment, or organization, and where they live. On the efficiency, independence, and initiative of these Party organizations depends the ability of the Party to

lead the masses in the daily struggle against the bosses and for final victory.

In the statutes of the Communist Parties of the Communist International, we find the following point: All Party organizations may decide on local questions independently insofar as these decisions do not conflict with any decision of the higher Party organizations.

The problem is how are we to equip our units and Sections to function independently? How can we develop the initiative of these organizations to such an extent that they won't wait for directives from the higher bodies as they too often do now, but develop their own campaigns, react to every issue in their shop or territory? Naturally, these actions will always be based on the general policy or campaigns of the Party.

Why is it so important to develop the initiative of the lower organizations? In answering this question, we have to remember one very important fact. The Units are the organizations which are in direct touch with the masses. The Units are the leaders of the workers in the factories, neighborhoods, etc. In order to be able to give correct leadership to these workers, the Unit must raise slogans which fit the given situation. But the concrete issues are often quite different in each factory or neighborhood. The Unit, with its members among the masses, can react quickly on these issues. If we wait until the news about a wage cut or worsening of conditions reaches the Section, and is then transmitted to the Units, the issue will have become useless in many cases, or there is a danger that the workers will already be following the leadership of some reformist. Waiting for instructions will not make a Unit the leader of the masses. Too many decisive "moments" have been lost in this way.

In the Units where there is real initiative there

will be constant development of the individual members. They will continuously discuss problems and study the line of the Party in order to be able to apply it to the given situation.

Proper Leadership Develops Initiative

The "independence" and "initiative" of the Unit must not be interpreted to mean that they have nothing to do with the higher committees of the Party. The Section, District and Central Committees, by the principle of democratic centralism, on which our Party structure and procedure are based, always have the right to approve or disapprove any decision of the lower organizations.

The initiative of the Units develops precisely because the proper leadership is given by the higher Party committees.

What are the best methods of developing the initiative of the Units? First of all, the personal guidance given by the Party committees, through representatives, or instructors, who work with the Unit for some time. These representatives or instructors assigned to a Unit participate in all activities of the Unit and not only help prepare proposals for actions, but take part in carrying out the decisions.

There is one more very important reason for hastening the process of developing the initiative of the Units to the highest degree. In a comparatively "peaceful" period, when the Party has the possibilities of working openly, the Units can come for advice to the Section or District headquarters. But in a situation when it may not be possible to have open headquarters, when it will be quite difficult to get in touch with the Section Committee quickly, the Unit will *have* to work independently. If we neglect to develop the initiative of the Units today, the work

of the Party would be hampered in illegal conditions.

WHAT ARE THE COMMISSIONS IN THE SECTION, DISTRICT, AND CENTRAL COMMITTEES

The Commissions are the instruments in the hands of the respective Party Committees for the purpose of carrying out the work more effectively.

1. The role of the Commissions is to prepare material for the Committees in their respective field of work.

2. They are responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Party Committee in their field of work and to see to it that the decisions made in the Committees are carried out by the lower organization.

These Commissions have no right to make decisions on general policies of the Party, but they have the right to make decisions in the process of carrying out the policy of the respective Party Committees. For example: The Section Committee decides that steps must be taken to stop membership fluctuation in the Units. The Organization Department, in carrying out this decision, examines a number of Units, finds out the basic weaknesses and in this way gathers material for a thorough campaign for stopping fluctuation. In the process of the examination the Organization Department makes decisions about the compósition of the Commission and the method of work of this Commission which carries on the investigation.

The head of the Commission should be a member of the Party committee. The members of the Commissions are appointed by the Party committee from the best qualified members of the Party organization, not necessarily members of the Party committee. It is advisable to draw in as many comrades from the lower organizations into these Commissions as possible in order to develop them for more responsible work.

WHAT COMMISSIONS DO WE HAVE IN THE PARTY COMMITTEES?

1. Organizational Commission (Org. Commission),
2. Agitation and Propaganda Commission (Agit-Prop),
3. Trade Union Commission,
4. Negro Commission,
5. Women's Commission,
6. Agrarian Commission.

The other phases of activity (*Daily Worker*, Literature, Finances, etc.) are taken care of by one or the other of these Commissions.

WHAT IS THE TASK OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMISSION IN THE SECTION OR DISTRICT?

1. To explain and popularize the Organizational decisions of the Conventions, Conferences (Communist International, Central Committee, District or Section Committee), and see to it that these decisions are carried out.

2. To prepare Org. Directives, outlines for the Party Committee, for all fields of organizational work in connection with the various campaigns of the Party (elections, May First, anti-war, anti-fascism, recruiting, *Daily Worker*, etc.).

3. To control and check upon whether the decisions of the Party Committees are carried out (control tasks).

4. To exchange the organizational experiences of the Party organizations through articles in the *Party Organizer*, "Party Life" column in the *Daily Worker*, special Organizational Bulletins, functionaries' meetings.

5. To watch and control constantly the composition of the Party and take the necessary steps if there is any danger of unstable non-proletarian elements attaining too great numerical and political influence.

6. To check on whether members have joined the unions in their industry.

7. To watch and check fluctuation (turn-over in membership).

8. To promote recruiting.

9. To give special guidance and assistance to the Factory Units.

10. To report systematically to the higher committees about dues, recruiting, Factory Units, shop papers, Fractions, etc.

11. To follow up systematically the behavior and development of the functionaries in the Party, and to promote new cadres.

12. To help the lower organizations through instructors.

13. To organize the Fractions in the mass organizations and see that they function.

HOW SHOULD THE ORGANIZATIONAL COMMISSION WORK?

Through personal contact with the lower organizations. Members of the Org. Commission should train instructors to help maintain this contact. These instructors, while helping the lower organizations in their daily work, at the same time bring problems up to the higher committees, problems which have not been solved in the lower organizations of the Party. These problems, after thorough discussion, should be written about in the *Party Organizer*, "Party Life" column, etc., in this way giving the experiences of one organization to the whole Party. The Org. Commission should also use the method of bringing together promising comrades from the Units to classes, where they can be developed into new organizational forces for the Party.

THE TRADE UNION COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS

There is no need to emphasize again how impor-

tant and vital it is to work in the A. F. of L. and other unions. This work must occupy one of the most predominant places in the work of all Party Committees. In order to be able to pay daily attention to all trade union problems, each Party committee should organize a special Commission for this work. Its duties are:

1. To explain the resolutions of the Convention and of the Committees concerning the trade union questions.

2. To prepare material for the respective Party committee when a problem of a particular trade or industry is put on the agenda.

3. To check on whether the lower organizations are carrying out the decisions of the Party committee in the trade union field.

4. To give systematic guidance and directives to the fractions of the trade union about the policy, tactics and concrete steps of the Party in the field of the trade union movement, and to see whether they carry out the directives of the Party.

5. To coordinate the activities of the fractions in the various trade unions.

6. To exchange and popularize the experience of the trade union fractions.

7. To lead the work in the field of organizing and strengthening the fractions in all trade union organizations, City Central Bodies, State Federations of Labor, etc.

8. To participate in the work of the Fractions in the preparation for trade union conferences, conventions, etc.

9. To watch carefully the development of Party forces in the trade union movement, as well as the work of the non-party sympathetic leaders in the trade union movements.

The head of the commission should be a member of the respective Party committee—Section Com-

mittee, District Committee, Central Committee. The rest of the members should be elected by the Party committee from among the most developed comrades in the trade union field.

WHAT ARE THE TASKS OF THE AGIT-PROP COMMISSION?

1. To organize discussion around and popularization of the resolutions of the Conventions and Committees.
2. To prepare material for the respective Party committees for use in mass agitation (leaflets, pamphlets, articles).
3. To help and guide the lower organizations in editing and publishing shop and neighborhood papers.
4. To help the lower organizations to organize systematic discussions on actual political problems, campaigns, etc.
5. To help the lower organizations organize circulating libraries.
6. To organize open forums, lectures, study circles, workers' schools.
7. To organize training schools for functionaries and study circles for members.

OTHER COMMISSIONS

If, in the other specific phases of Party work, certain special situations necessitate other Commissions, the Party committee takes steps to set them up (Negro, Women Commissions, etc.).

The Party committees should assign one of its members to handle the financial problems. Around this comrade (Financial Secretary) a committee should be organized, which will be a subcommittee of the Org. Commission.

The *Daily Worker* and Literature Committees should also be set up as a subcommittee of the Agit-

Prop Commission. In order to coordinate the work of the two main Commissions, the Org. and Agit-Prop, there must be mutual representation established. One member of the Org. Commission must be a member of the Agit-Prop and vice versa.

WHAT IS THE RELATION BETWEEN THE C.P. AND Y.C.L.?

The Young Communist League is a mass organization of youth. The Communist Party is responsible for building this very important mass organization. The relation between the Party and the Y.C.L. is guided by these principles: The Party Units bear political responsibility for building the Y.C.L. In order to carry out this responsibility, the following organizational rules are observed by the Party:

1. Each Party Unit assigns one comrade for work in the corresponding Y.C.L. Unit. This assigned member is not a *formal* representative of the Party to the Y.C.L., but a mature comrade who participates in all activities of the Y.C.L., helps it to formulate policies and to carry out decisions.

In a Party Unit territory where there is no Y.C.L. Unit, one or two comrades should be assigned to the special task of building the Y.C.L. organization.

2. In order to coordinate the work between the Party and the Y.C.L., the Party should select one Y.C.L. member, preferably one who is a member also of the Party, to attend regularly the meetings of the Unit Bureau. It is understood that all Y.C.L. members who are members of the Party attend Party Unit membership meetings.

3. The same rules are observed on a Section scale. The Section Committee has one of its members assigned to the Y.C.L. Section. One member of the Y.C.L. Section Committee attends regularly the meetings of the Section Party Committee.

THE PARTY FRACTION

Besides the basic organization of the Party, the Factory Units, and the other forms of organization, Street and Town Units, there is another instrument in the hands of the Party through which we can influence the broadest strata of organized workers; that is, the Fraction.

The Fraction is an instrument in the hands of the Party through which the Policy of the Party is brought to the organized masses, and through which the Party gives leadership to members of the mass organizations. Fractions are built in all the trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers. In all unions and in cultural, fraternal, sport and unemployed organizations of the workers or farmers, in all united front organizations, in all conventions and conferences of such organizations where there are at least three Communists, a Communist Fraction must be organized.

The Party Fraction in the shop committees, sport clubs, etc., are under the jurisdiction of the corresponding Party organization: the Fraction in a shop is under the jurisdiction of the Factory Unit. The Fractions in organizations in a Unit territory are under the jurisdiction of the Street or Town Unit. The Fractions in organizations in a Section territory are under the jurisdiction of the Section Committee; a Fraction in an organization which covers a territory belonging to more than one Section is under the jurisdiction of the District. The Fractions in national organizations are under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee.

In all questions in which there is a decision of the corresponding Party organization, the Fractions must carry out these decisions. The policy for a mass organization is made in the Party Committee, but before the decisions are made on any basic question concerning the mass organization, the Party

Committee invites the representatives of the given Fraction to participate in the discussion. The Fraction at this meeting has a consultative role. After the discussion, the decision is made by the Party committee. The Party Committee can decide that the Fraction members express their *opinion* on the problem through consultative voting. The *decision*, however, is made by the majority vote of the members of the *Party Committee*.

Leading Fractions

The Leading Fraction of a Fraction in a given organization is composed of those Party members who are elected by the members of this organization to the leading committees. For example: An organization with 300 members elects an executive committee of fifteen. Among these fifteen, there are five Party members. These five Party members compose the Leading Fraction in the organization.

These Fractions are under the control of the corresponding Party committee to which they have to report regularly. At the same time, this Leading Fraction also has the duty of reporting to the general Fraction of the mass organization about their activities. The candidates for election in a mass organization are selected by the general Fraction, *but must be approved by the corresponding Party committee* before they are proposed to the general membership meeting of the organization. In all detailed questions of the inner life and the daily work of the union and other mass organizations, the Fraction acts independently on the basis of the policy of the Party.

The Party committee should check up on the daily work of the Fraction. But this should be done in such a way that it helps to develop ability to act independently. In cases of a basic controversy between the Party Fraction and the Party committee

on a question which otherwise is decided by the Fraction, a joint meeting of the Party committee and representatives of the Fraction should be arranged at which the question should be clarified and a decision made by the Party committee. This decision must be carried out unreservedly by the Party Fraction.

On problems which will be decided by the general membership meeting of the organization, the Fraction of this organization must take a stand. Every individual member of the Fraction must carry out the decisions of the Fraction at the membership meeting whether he agrees with it or not. At the present period it is especially important to organize the Fractions and make them work correctly in the A. F. of L. unions.

The Units and the Party committees must take the responsibility for this basic task of the Party. The decisions that every Party member who is eligible should belong to a union and function there as a member of the organized Fraction must be carried out in the shortest possible time. It must be emphasized that without good working Fractions, revolutionary mass work is impossible.

HOW DOES THE FRACTION FUNCTION?

The Party Fraction in a union or a branch of another mass organization meets regularly before the meeting of this organization. At this meeting the members of the Party Fraction discuss and decide how to apply the policy of the Party in the organization; how to introduce the Party campaigns; how to recruit new Party members from the union; how to get new readers for the *Daily Worker;* and what things can be done to improve the conditions of the members of the organization. On the various questions, the decisions are made by vote. The minority must help to carry out the decisions. No Party mem-

ber has the right to speak or act in the union or other mass organization against the decisions of the Fraction. The Party members must always act as a solid unit in the union or other mass organization. Workers look upon the Party as a disciplined body. If they should see that the Party members come to a meeting with different opinions on certain questions they will lose confidence in the ability of our Party to give them leadership. They will inevitably raise the question: "How can the Party claim to be a disciplined organizational leader of the masses if they cannot unite their own members on certain issues?"

If certain members of the Fraction do not agree with the decision of the majority, they can bring the problem to the Party committee and ask for a discussion, but this appeal cannot keep back the minority from carrying out the decision if the mass organization meeting happens to take place before the Party committee can act on this appeal.

What Is the Function of the Fraction Secretary

The members of a Fraction elect one comrade as Secretary. His work is as follows:

1. He maintains connections between the Party committee and Fraction.
2. He is personally responsible to the Party committee for the proper functioning of the Fraction.
3. He checks up and sees to it that the Party members function in the Fraction.
4. He watches the behavior of the Party members in the mass organization.
5. He sees to it that the campaigns are brought into the mass organization (election campaign, May First, anti-fascism, anti-war, recruiting, *Daily Worker*, etc.).

IV. Party Membership and Cadres

CONTINUOUS daily recruiting is the basic task of every Unit and each individual member of the Party. In the daily struggles of the workers in the factories and the neighborhood, the Unit must conscientiously develop its recruiting activities, getting into the Party the best fighters in these struggles.

WHOM TO RECRUIT

Emphasis in the daily recruiting must always be placed on the basic proletarian elements, especially those from the big factories. Special efforts must be made to get the native-born workers and Negroes into the Party. The necessity of recruiting women workers must also be emphasized because of the strategic position the women workers have in many industries. Besides this we shall never lose sight of the fact that during war the Communist women will play an important role in organizing and leading the workers in their revolutionary struggles.

The best method of getting new members into the Party is to place individual responsibility for recruiting on the Unit members. Each individual Party member has friends in the factory where he works, in the union of which he is a member, in the neighborhood where he lives. Each individual Party member has the Communist duty of convincing these friends of his of the correctness of the program of the C.I. and of the Communist Party, and in this way, recruiting them into the Party. It is understood that the individual Party members must pay special attention to those workers who prove to be fearless fighters on the picket line, in the unemployed struggles. The necessity for individual responsibility of each Party member

in recruiting new members into the Party and in helping and guiding them after they join the Party cannot be over-emphasized.

While we have to bring into the Party tens of thousands of workers in order to build a real mass Party of the American proletariat, we must bear in mind always that our Party must be composed of the most courageous, most developed, most self-sacrificing elements of our class—the working class. That means that, in recruiting members, we must pay special attention not only to the quantity but also to the quality of the new recruits.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

Any person from the age of eighteen up, who accepts the program and statutes of the C.I. and the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

If a worker who is less than 18 years of age wants to join the Party, and there is no Young Communist League in the town or factory, the Party Unit has the right to accept him into the Unit, get him a book and permit him to remain in the Party Unit until, with the help of the Party Unit, he is able to build up a Unit of the Y.C.L.

WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

The conditions for membership in our Party are contained in the following pledge read by Comrade Browder to 2,000 workers who were initiated into the Party in the New York District in 1935.

"I now take my place in the ranks of the Communist Party, the Party of the working class. I take this solemn oath to give the best that is in me to the service of my class. I pledge myself to spare no effort in uniting the workers in militant struggle against fascism and war. I pledge myself to work unsparingly in the unions, in the shops,

among the unemployed, to lead the struggles for the daily needs of the masses. I solemnly pledge to take my place in the forefront of the struggle for Negro rights; against Jim-Crowism and lynching, against the chauvinist lies of the ruling class. I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States."

Our Party application carries this declaration:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C.I. and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

On the basis of this declaration we could enumerate the conditions for membership in the Party in the following way:

1. Activity in a unit;
2. Regular payment of membership dues;
3. Adherence to all decisions of the Comintern and of the Party;
4. Adherence to the discipline of the Party.

WHO DECIDES WHETHER A MEMBER SHOULD BE ACCEPTED INTO THE PARTY?

1. The membership meeting of the Unit into which the new member is recruited.

2. The application of a factory worker who works where a Shop Unit exists must be acted on by *that* Shop Unit, no matter where and by whom the worker is recruited (fractions, members of other Street or Shop Units).

In case the new member is not recruited from the shop or from the territory of the Unit, his application should be acted upon by the Unit to which the endorser belongs. The member who brings the

application for acceptance to his Unit takes full responsibility for the new member.

The same procedure should be followed in cases where the new members are recruited by the fractions or members of fractions in unions or other mass organizations. The individual Party member who recruits the new member brings the application card to his own Unit. The Unit acts on the application, holding the endorser responsible for the new Party member.

WHERE SHALL THE NEW MEMBER BE ASSIGNED?

1. To the Shop Unit in his place of work.

2. If there is no Shop Unit where he works, he should be assigned to the Street Unit where he lives. If the new member wishes, he may be assigned to the Street Unit of the comrade who recruited him.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

According to the Constitution of our Party, the individual Party members pay their dues weekly on the following basis:

1. Members receiving weekly wages of $15 or less (including housewives) pay 10 cents dues weekly.

2. Members receiving weekly wages of over $15 and up to $25 pay 25 cents dues weekly.

3. Members receiving over $25 and up to $30 pay 50 cents dues weekly.

4. Members receiving over $30 and up to $40 pay 75 cents dues weekly.

5. Members receiving over $40 and up to $50 pay $1.00 dues weekly.

6. Members receiving over $50 per week pay, in addition to their regular $1.00 weekly dues, additional dues (special tax) at the rate of 50 cents for each $5.00 (or fraction) of their weekly earnings above $50.

7. Members who are unemployed pay two cents dues weekly.

Distribution of Dues

Dues paid by the individual members are divided among the Party organizations in the following proportion: the Unit retains 40 per cent of the amount collected from every individual member; 15 per cent goes to the Section; 15 per cent to the District and 30 per cent to the Center, of which amount one-third is for the special national trade-union fund. For example, the unit pays 60 cents to the Section for a $1.00 dues stamp; the Section pays 45 cents to the District; and the District pays 30 cents to the Center, out of which 10 cents goes for the national trade-union fund.

As we see from the division of dues payments, the largest proportion remains in the Unit—40 per cent. The Eighth National Convention of our Party made this decision in order to enable the Party Units to intensify their agitation and propaganda among the masses. This amount was intended to be used for producing more leaflets, shop papers, neighborhood papers, etc. All tendencies to use this money for other purposes should be fought by the Party Units.

Special Assessments

No Unit, Section or District has the right to assess the membership without the permission of the Central Committee. Special assessment may be levied by the National Convention or the C.C. of the Communist Party. If such a decision is made by any of these bodies, no member shall be considered in good standing unless he has such special assessment stamps in his book.

Members who are four weeks in arrears in payment of dues cease to be members in good standing of the Party. Members who are thre months in arrears shall be dropped from the rolls after all possible means to avoid this are exhausted. No mem-

ber of the Party shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than six weeks. Exceptions can be made for such comrades who secure a leave of absence from the Party for a longer period.

TRANSFERS

If a member of the Party moves from one place to another, he must secure a transfer from the Party organization before he moves. No Party member has the right to leave his Unit without permission. The Units must not accept any member without a transfer. A transfer card must be secured from the Section Committee in order to transfer from one Unit to another in the same Section; from one Section to another in the same District, the transfer is issued by the District Committee; from one District to another, the Central Committee issues the transfer; from the Communist Party of the U.S.A. to a Communist Party in another country, the Central Committee issues the transfer.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

The members of the Party can secure permission for a leave of absence in case of sickness or necessity for travel from the Party Unit or committees. If a member leaves the Party Unit without permission, his case will be handled in a disciplinary way.

FORCES—CADRES

One of the main conditions for developing the initiative of the Units is the systematic development of *forces, cadres, leadership.* We must realize that without good leadership in the Units and Sections the Party cannot function properly. We must have in each Unit of our Party a core of comrades who are politically developed, capable of making, quickly and boldly, responsible decisions in the most intricate situations—comrades who are experienced, steeled, stable, who will not be weakened under any circumstances, who will follow the line of the Party.

Where are these forces trained? They are trained in militant actions of the masses. These militant, courageous members are our future leading forces. We must help them, encourage them, school them in action, teach them in training schools, persuade them to study and read fundamental Marxist-Leninist classics. We need thousands upon thousands of such forces, in order to be able to give leadership to the Leftward moving masses.

There are other important problems to be considered in connection with the question of forces:

First, the development and proper utilization of the old and new forces. We have spoken already about the necessity of developing forces, about building up a mighty force of new cadres. This is done in our Party by the following methods:

1. Conferences of functionaries, where discussions about basic problems help to develop our cadres; 2. Regular meetings of Unit and Section functionaries, where the decisions of the Party committees are clarified through discussion; 3. Workers' schools; 4. Section schools; 5. District schools; 6. National schools; 7. Study circles composed of promising comrades; 8. Individual study with the help of a more developed comrade.

It should be emphasized that in discussing the question of training forces, we have in mind not only the new forces, but also the old forces who need further training, and in some cases re-education.

The Party, in selecting the members for further training, examines the comrade for the qualifications needed for leadership—not only reliability, loyalty, capacity for development, but also whether he is a mass worker, or capable of being one. Our Party emphasizes the need of American, proletarian elements, the need of Negroes and women in the leadership.

The Party leadership must know its forces, must be able to assign each one to the place where he is most suitable and most needed.

Comrade Lenin, dealing with the problem of the proper utilization of forces, gives a splendid example. To enable the Party leadership,

> ". . . not only to advise (as this has been done until now), but really conduct the orchestra, one must know exactly who is playing first or second fiddle, and where, what instrument he was taught, where and how, where and why he plays out of tune (when the music begins to be trying to the ear), and what changes should be made in the orchestra so as to remedy the dissonance. . . ."

The systematic control of the carrying out of decisions and the proper application of Bolshevik self-criticism, will help the Units and Sections to discover who is occupying a position which suits him, and who is in the wrong place, or who has no business to have any responsible position in the Party. We must know our forces. We must know who we can rely on, who can and who cannot, who will and who will not carry out decisions.

The second problem is the continuous control of the existing forces. We are conducting today, and will lead on a much larger scale tomorrow, mighty battles. In these struggles we are in the forefront. The fighting masses follow us, because they have confidence in the Party, because the Communists are brave, self-sacrificing. But if the workers see that one of the Communist leaders is a coward, or unable to lead them, this will have serious consequences. We cannot have in our leadership members who cannot stand up before the class enemy, who get panicky, who lose their heads in a serious situation. We must know whom we can trust under any circumstances, who will be shaken.

Comrade Stalin in his speech in 1929 in the American Commission, said:

"The struggle for the winning of the millions of the working masses to the side of Communism must be intensified. The fight must be intensified for the forging of real revolutionary Party cadres and for the selection of real revolutionary leaders of the Party, of individuals capable of entering the fight and bringing the proletariat with them, individuals who will not run before the face of storm and will not fall into panic, but will sail into the face of the storm. But in order to carry out this task, it is necessary at once, without the loss of a single moment, for time does not wait, to set about cleaning the Communist Parties of Right and conciliatory elements, who objectively represent the agency of Social-Democracy within the ranks of the Communist Party. And we must set about this matter, not at the usual pace, but at an accelerated pace, for, I repeat, times does not wait, and we must not allow events to catch us unawares." *Stalin's Speeches on the American Communist Party*, p. 34.)

What Kind of Forces Do We Need Most Now?

We need proletarian forces who grow up from the masses, who are popular leaders of their fellow workers in a shop, union, block, town, or farm community, forces who are in close contact with the masses and reflect the feelings of the proletariat, who can best bring into life the correct fighting slogans of the Party. We need forces, first of all, from the native-born workers, from among the Negro proletariat, from among the women workers. The basic forces of the Party should come from the big factories. These members should be drawn into leadership, preparing them in the process of Party work for the actual carrying out of Party tasks, training them politically also. One of the main conditions of becoming a real mass Party, leading

the revolutionary struggles of the American proletariat, is that the Party basically be made up of native American workers, and that its cadres consist of native American revolutionists.

WHO ARE THE PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONISTS?

Comrade Lenin in his writings always stressed the necessity of developing a core of comrades from among the best, tested mass leaders, to such a point that they would be able to serve the proletariat as trained, skilled revolutionary leaders. There is a misconception in the ranks of the Party as to what a professional revolutionist, in the Leninist sense, is. Some are of the opinion that a professional revolutionist is a comrade whom the Party takes out of the factory and assigns as full-time functionary; in other words, that the Party organization (Section —District—Center) supports him while he spends all his time on Party work. This notion is wrong.

A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his own class. A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the Party sends him. Today he may be working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed. Naturally, these professional revolutionists are supported by the Party organization if their assignment doesn't send them to work in shops or mines. From these comrades the Party demands everything. They accept Party assignments—the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered, but are not decisive. If the class struggle demands it, he will leave his family for months, even years. The professional revolutionist cannot be demoralized; he

is steeled, stable. Nothing can shake him. Our task is to make every Party member a professional revolutionist in this sense.

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND WORK

Collective leadership is composed of two inseparable parts:

1. All decisions of a Unit or Party Committee are made by the whole body and not by one or two members of that body.

2. Each member of the Unit or Committee is individually responsible for carrying out *not only the decisions concerning himself, but of the Unit or Committee.*

If one of the two conditions is missing, we are faced with the problem of bureaucracy or looseness in the organization. If the members of an elected committee do not participate in hammering out (discussing) the steps to be taken by them, but only the organizer or another functionary makes the decision, the carrying out of this decision will be mechanical. On the other hand, if the members are not held individually responsible for carrying out the decisions made collectively, the leadership will be narrowed down to one or two members of the Unit. The proper Bolshevik method of working collectively is the following:

The organizer or another functionary of the Unit or Party committee prepares the proposals and distributes them among the members of the Unit Bureau or committee at least one day before the meeting. The members come to the meeting well prepared for discussion, bringing additional proposals or amendments. These proposals are thoroughly discussed and the final decision is worked out together.

It is not sufficient to adopt the plan of work: *to lay down the line.* This must be accompanied by the assignment of the tasks to the individual members. While the organizer is responsible for checking

whether the assigned comrades carry out their tasks, at the same time each member of the Committee and Unit must feel the responsibility and must fight for the carrying out of the decisions.

In order to make it possible to divide the responsibility among the members of the Party Committees, the individual members of the Committee are assigned to be responsible for the various phases of the work of the Committee. Besides the organizer of a Section or District who is actually the political leader of the organization, we assign members of the Committee to be responsible for organizational work, agitational and propaganda work, trade union work, work among Negroes, work among women, work among youth, *Daily Worker* distribution, literature distribution, finances, etc. These comrades assigned to the various phases of the work are helped by a number of developed comrades who form a commission around them.

V. Rules and Methods for Disciplinary Cases

PARTY discipline would remain an empty phrase if the Party constitution did not provide for necessary measures against those who break it. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, such as financial irregularities, conduct or action harmful to the prestige and influence of the Party among the masses, failure to carry out decisions especially during strikes, etc., may be punished by (1) censure; (2) public censure; (3) removal from committees; (4) removal from all responsible work; (5) expulsion from the Party.

There is no such disciplinary measure in our Party as suspension or probation. For example, if a member commits an offense against the Party for which removal from his responsible post is not sufficient punishment, but where there is reason to believe he can be corrected, the Party can decide that he is to be expelled from the Party with the right to apply for membership in a certain period of time (six months—one year). The person is not considered a Party member during the period of his expulsion. In order to be able to judge his attitude at the end of the period, the Party, in deciding on his expulsion, also decides on the work to which he is to be assigned to test his ability and willingness to follow the line and instructions of the Party. If the expelled member proves to be sincere, honest and revolutionary and corrects the faults for which he was expelled, the Party will consider his application for membership at the end of the disciplinary period—and in some special cases before.

Who Has the Right to Prefer Charges?

Charges against individual members may be made

either in the Units of the Party, or in any Party committee by any individual Party member, or any Unit or Party committee.

Charges made by one member against another, as a rule, should be made in writing, but the Party unit or any Party Committee may take up a case for investigation, even without definite charges. A member must submit to examination by any Party body even when no definite charges are communicated to him. Loose spreading of charges or rumors from one member to another is not permitted in our Party. All charges and suspicions must be taken up only with the Party unit or the proper Party Committee, and are to be acted upon promptly. Those questioned in the course of the investigation or hearing should be warned against loose talking about the case outside.

Who Has the Right to Make Decisions on Charges?

Decisions on charges may be made by any of the following organizations: Unit membership meeting, Section Bureau or Section Committee, District Bureau or District Committee, Political Bureau of the Central Committee, or Central Committee. These Party bodies have the right to decide on any of the disciplinary measures to be taken against Party members.

Street or shop units of the Party have the right to take disciplinary action up to and including expulsion against any of their members, not exempting members or functionaries who are members of higher committees.

A Section Committee has the right to act against any member in its section. At the same time it may refer the case to the unit to which the accused member belongs.

A District Committee has the right to act against any member in its district, or it may refer the

case to the respective section or unit, if it finds it necessary to do so.

The Central Committee of the Party has the right to take disciplinary action against any member of the Party, or to refer the case to the district, section or unit to which the accused member belongs.

Expulsion decisions of the units require the approval of the respective Section Committee, and must be approved also by the District Bureau or District Committee. No expulsion or readmission of previously expelled members can take effect without the approval or direct decision of the respective District Bureau or District Committee. An expulsion decision passed by the District Committee is final, except in cases of District Committee members themselves, and in cases of appeals to the Central Committee when the final decision rests with the Central Committee.

Expulsion decisions of units and of Section Committees must be promptly reported to the district for approval, together with materials of the investigation and findings. The member against whom the expulsion decision has been made should be immediately notified and disconnected from unit and fraction. It should be definitely understood however that the final action on the expulsion, which must be obtained quickly, rests with the District.

Hearings and Appeals

Every accused member has the right to a hearing before any disciplinary action can be taken against him. The main thing in the examination is to establish the essential facts in each case and to give an opportunity to the accused member to present his side with his witnesses and documents.

Every member against whom any disciplinary action has been taken has the right to appeal to a higher Party committee. The appeal, however, does

not interfere with the carrying out of the decision. The decision has to be carried out and remains in force until the appeal is acted upon by the higher committee.

It must be emphasized that judgment of the seriousness of violations of Party discipline must be based on the question of fulfilling and carrying out the basic political and organizational directives of the Party Unit or the higher Party committees. Action taken against an individual member, or Party committee, must never be mechanical. The action must be explained to the Party membership and also to the masses if the issues involved are so serious that it is necessary to destroy any confidence non-Party workers may have had in the expelled member and to make the reasons for the Party action clear.

What Is the Disciplinary Committee in the Districts?

A subcommittee of the District Committee has the task of gathering material on the disciplinary cases for the District Committee. The Disciplinary Committee receiving the charges from the District Bureau against a member conducts the investigation on the case, calls witnesses and examines the member who is up on charges. After proper examination, the Disciplinary Committee formulates its recommendation on the case and presents it to the District Committee or Bureau and this body makes the decision. The Disciplinary Committee has no right to make a decision. The members of the Disciplinary Committee are appointed by the District Committee.

Is There Any Disciplinary Committee in the Section or Unit?

No. Disciplinary cases are handled by the Section Committee proper or the Section Bureau or the Unit membership. The Unit or Section Committee, however, can appoint a small committee to investigate a given case and report to the body. But this commit-

tee is not permanent. After the case is investigated the committee is dissolved.

HOW SHALL WE SAFEGUARD THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AGAINST STOOL-PIGEONS AND SPIES?

The working class is constantly at war with its enemy, the capitalist class. In this war (class struggle), as in any other war, the capitalist class has one main objective—to defeat its enemy, the working class. In order to achieve this aim, the capitalists use all possible methods to disorganize, demoralize and divide the ranks of the proletariat. One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the enemy is the agent-provocateur, the stool-pigeon, the spy in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Party.

The activities of these human rats can be listed as follows:

1. Agents-provocateurs are planted in the Party either by the police department, Department of Justice, "patriotic" organizations, or counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, with the aim of disrupting the work of the Party organizations. The methods they use are:

(a) Creating sentiment against the leadership of the Party;

(b) Systematic destructive criticism against the line of the Party;

(c) Provocative proposals for certain actions, which, if adopted, would lessen the confidence of the masses in the ability of the Communist Party to lead them, because of the unnecessary sacrifice as a result of such provocative action;

(d) The spreading of rumors about individual leaders of the Party, concerning their political integrity or personal life;

(e) Creating an atmosphere of spy mania in the

Party organization by skillfully spreading rumors about certain individuals being spies;

(f) Accepting important assignments at strategic points and certain activity and then sabotaging the carrying out of the assignment, in this way disrupting the action of the Party organization.

The most effective weapon in the hands of the Communist Party against these agents-provocateurs is the carrying out of the general line of the Party, the uncompromising fight against any one who attempts to deviate from this line, Bolshevik self-criticism and correction of mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the Party organization or individuals in the process of applying or carrying out the general line of the Party. In a Party organization where these principles are strictly adhered to, agents-provocateur will be exposed very quickly.

2. The second type of class enemy in the ranks of the Party and in other workers' organizations is the stool pigeon. They have the task of gathering information about the Party and the individual members. They work diligently, attend every meeting, and take responsible assignments in the organization. They strive to be promoted to higher positions in order to get more important information to the Police Department, or to their bosses. They are very inquisitive about individuals, their names and addresses; they always like to get some inside "dope" from and about higher committees. They are present in every possible place they can get into. They try to get hold of documents and keep them for a day or so. They try to find ways and means of getting to other Party organizations and Fractions than their own.

Against both types of rats, the best safeguard is the proper selection of new members. While we do not create difficulties for workers to join the Communist Party, we have to be careful in accepting new members, especially those who have had no previous

connections with any workers' organizations or with individual members of the Party, or whose previous record is hard to obtain. In order to counteract the activities of the stool pigeon, we have to keep before our eyes, always, the following general rules:

1. Do not tell any member anything about Party members which does not concern that member.

2. Do not discuss any Party question outside of the meeting of the Party organization (Unit, membership, Unit Bureau, Section Committee, Fraction). Stop discussing inner Party questions on the street corners or cafeterias, where anyone can listen in. Do not broadcast inner Party decisions to long-eared stool pigeons who are waiting for the information.

3. Avoid, as much as possible, keeping membership lists with names and addresses, and if you have such lists, do not keep them in your home, or in the headquarters of the Party Unit or Section, or in your pocket.

4. Documents which are not for publication should be read only by those Party members to whom they are addressed, and should be destroyed immediately after reading. Documents which need study must be carefully safeguarded. Every member who has such a document must return it after reading it to the Party committee, which destroys it immediately.

HOW SHALL WE EXPOSE THE STOOL PIGEON?

There is a tendency among some comrades to hide from the masses the fact that a stool pigeon has been discovered in the organization. In certain places, the comrades develop the theory that if we expose the stool pigeons the workers will be afraid to join the Party—because there are spies in the organization. This conception is entirely incorrect. The mass exposure of a stool pigeon will greatly increase the confidence of the masses in the Party, since it proves the Party is able to find out who the class enemies are in its ranks.

There is only one proper method of exposing the stool pigeons—and that is *mass exposure*, creating and organizing *mass* hatred against these rats. Experiences of the Communist Parties prove that such mass exposures not only do not scare away workers, but have resulted in hundreds of new recruits to the Party.

The following methods have been used very effectively in many places and can serve as a model for exposing spies:

1. Photograph the spy, and print his picture in the *Daily Worker* and in leaflets and stickers. Spread this material in the place where the spy was operating.

2. Organize systematic agitation among the workers where the spy was discovered.

3. Mobilize the children and women in the block in the part of town where the stool pigeon lives to make his life miserable; let them picket the store where his wife purchases groceries and other necessities; let the children in the street shout after him or after any member of his family that they are spies, rats, stool pigeons.

4. Chalk his home with the slogan: "So-and-So who lives here is a spy." Let the children boycott his children or child; organize the children not to talk to his children, etc.

Such forms of agitation will gather around the issue hundreds of workers who were outside of the influence of the Party before, and who will now come with us on some action. At the same time, we will expose and get rid of the spy, not through individual action, *but through real mass mobilization.*

FOR THE BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE PARTY

"What is meant by Bolshevizing the Party?

"It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful

one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building Socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become the Party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed peoples, brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle; that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks—fight on two fronts; it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories." (Earl Browder: *Report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, pp. 78-79.)

Millions of American workers are going through the school of the class struggle. Masses of impoverished farmers have begun to learn through their own experiences the real role of the capitalist parties. Millions of them are searching for the way out of their misery and poverty. Fascist demagogues, small and big, grow like mushrooms after a rain. These fascist demagogues, following the road of Hitler and Mussolini, try to capitalize on the dissatisfaction of the masses. Huey Long, Coughlin, Johnson, and Co. are subtly spreading the gospel of fascism among the masses. They will "share the wealth" without hurting capitalism. They preach righteousness, justice for the poor, while protecting the private property of the big bourgeoisie.

The toiling masses in the United States are looking for leadership. The Communist Party, which is equipped to give leadership to these masses, must

show them the only way out of their misery, must expose the demagogy, the "radical" phrases of the fascist leaders and the hypocritical promises of the capitalist government. The Communist Party, in order to be able to give this leadership, must be entrenched among the workers and poor farmers. We must build and strengthen our Units in the factories. We must build and strengthen our Units in the neighborhoods, in the small towns, etc. We must spread our Party organizations all over the country. We must build and strengthen the Fractions in the A. F. of L. unions and other mass organizations of the workers.

Every Communist must become a leader of the workers. Every Communist must know that the Party has a historical mission to fulfill, that it has the mission of liberating the oppressed exploited masses from the yoke of capitalism, that it has the mission of organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the new world, a Soviet America.

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